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VOLUME FOUR

BEAUTY OF GLAZED POTTERY MADE UNDER THE T'ANG EMPERORS

The horse has a hole for the insertion of a tail and a groove for the mane; the pack-saddle of the Bactrian camel is embossed with a monster's head, and from it hang a side of bacon, game birds, flask and ewer; the winged, bull-footed, human-headed creature is an earth-monster or 't'u kuai.'

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VOLUME FOUR

Pages 927-1236

ROME'S EXPANSION, GLORY AND DECLINE

133 B.C.-476 A.D.

New York

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MCMXXXIX

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ROME'S EXPANSION AND HER RIVAL GENERALS: 133—31 B.C.

THE YEAR 133 B.C. is a conspicuous landmark in the world's history; since in that year Rome for the first time became not merely a dominant political influence but an actual territorial power in Asia; and in that year Tiberius Gracchus, all unconsciously, inaugurated the Roman Revolution. Another century had barely passed when the victory of Octavian's lieutenant Agrippa at Actium set the seal upon both the revolution and the expansion, making one man the master of the civilized world.

When the year 133 opened, even western Europe was far from being subjugated. Scipio was still engaged on the campaign which crushed the defiance of the far west. Transalpine Gaul was untouched. The heirs of Masinissa were disputing among themselves for the ascendancy in Africa, west of what had been the Carthaginian homeland and was now the Roman province of Africa. Egypt and all Asia were at this time theoretically independent.

AN accident gave Rome the footing she had not chosen to claim before on the eastern continent. The king of Pergamum, Attalus III, died, leaving no son. The dynasty had been studiously —and profitably—loyal to Rome through all the shifting policies of the last seventy years; and Attalus, dying, bequeathed his very flourishing kingdom to the Roman People.

Thus Rome became direct mistress of that half of Asia Minor (henceforth the Province of Asia) which roughly corresponded to the old-time kingdom of Lydia at its widest extent in the days of Crœsus; but Bithynia, Pontus (the realm of the house of Mithradates), Cappadocia and Galatia still lay outside its bounds.

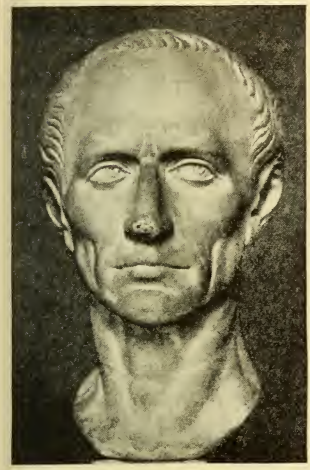
THE expansion of the Roman power outside the Italian peninsula, except for the annexation of a part of the island of Sicily at the close of the First Punic War in 241, had been effected entirely during the last hundred years. The whole of this extra-Italian territory was now not in alliance with but subject to Rome. Within Italy Cisalpine Gaul had been added to the number of the Provinces.

The rest of Italy was on a different footing. All the Italian communities had either been admitted to full Roman citizenship, with their members enrolled in the Roman Tribes; or they were individually "socii," not Romans but allies, enjoying only treaty rights and subject to treaty obligations.

When Tiberius Gracchus procured election to the tribunate and started the revolution, he had probably no thought of subverting the constitution. His aim was economic.

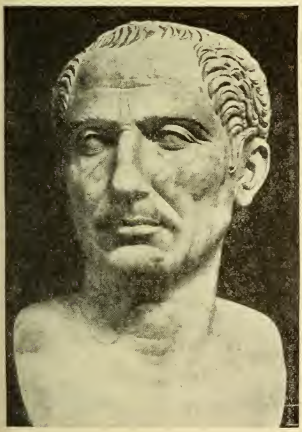
Tiberius Gracchus (163-133 B.C.) returned from Spain, indignant at the senatorial betrayal of Rome's honor by the repudiation of the Spanish treaty of Marcinus. For projects of reform which would touch their own wealth or power there was nothing to be hoped from the nobles. But if the government was by constitutional practice in the hands of the Senate, the elected tribunes possessed by law powers intended to be exercised only on emergency by which they could force the hand of the government. Tiberius stood for the tribunate, and opened his campaign in 133.

He had prepared a bill to lay before the popular or tribal assembly, for resumption and redistribution, which his opponents denounced as sheer confiscation, though the technical right of resumption was confirmed by the most eminent legal authorities, including the consul, Mucius Scævola, in Rome—Scipio was in Spain. But when the bill was brought in, another tribune, Octavius, interposed his veto. Gracchus replied by applying his veto to every sort of administrative



Busts and portrait statues testify to the commanding intellect and character of Julius Cæsar, an example of greatness as orator, man of letters, soldier and statesman unexcelled in history.

British Museum; photo, Fleming



HOW ROMAN SCULPTORS EXPRESSED THE GREATNESS OF JULIUS CÆSAR

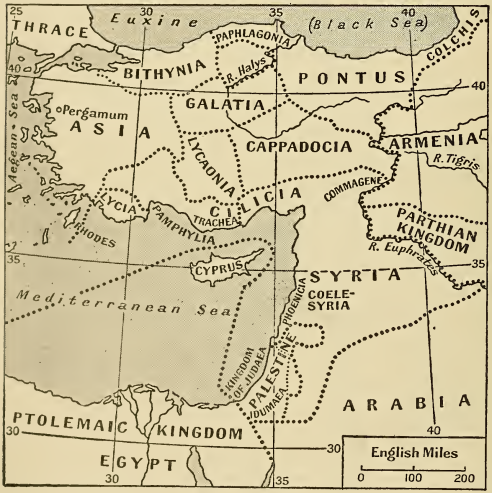
Capitoline Museum, Rome; photo, Anderson

action, revising his bill so as to make it more drastic than before, and again introducing it at the next assembly. There was no sort of doubt that it would pass, but again Octavius vetoed it. At the next assembly Gracchus moved that Octavius should be deposed from the tribunate. There was no precedent, but the motion was carried by the unanimous vote of the tribes. The agrarian law was then again introduced and, being similarly carried, became law.

But the deposition of Octavius was an act as palpably revolutionary as "Pride's purge" or Cromwell's ejection of the Rump. As long as the popularity of the tribune insured the support of the Assembly of tribes, he could carry any legislation he liked. But men began to discover that they might under the new law be deprived of land which they imagined themselves to hold by an indefeasible title, and they took fright. It was becoming evident that Tiberius himself would be in danger the moment that he ceased to be protected from attack by the immunity conferred by his office, the person of a tribune being sacrosanct. He must procure reëlection—and he might fail; there was no precedent for reëlection without an interval. The proceedings were stayed over the day on which his office expired. On the following morning a party of hostile senators, led by his cousin Scipio Nasica, came down to the Assembly; a riot arose, and Tiberius was struck down and murdered.

NASICA had to flee the country and died at Pergamum; on the other hand, the party of law and order punished some of the supporters of Gracchus by methods which were in fact positively illegal. Constitutionalists turned to Scipio, on his return from Numantia, as the man who must save the state. But the task needed a man of larger imagination and less rigid scrupulosity. One morning he was found dead in his bed, and the world believed that he had been murdered by the demagogues (129).

To be rid of Flaccus, the close personal friend and supporter of the murdered Tiberius, who proposed the measure, the Senate sent him off as consul to Transalpine Gaul to protect their allies of Massilia who had appealed for aid against the aggressive Celtic tribes. The result of his operations was conquest, annexation and the establishment of the Province of Gallia Narbonensis, which still bears the name of Provence; seventy years later it became the base of Julius Cæsar's operations. While Flaccus was absent, Gaius Gracchus, who had been



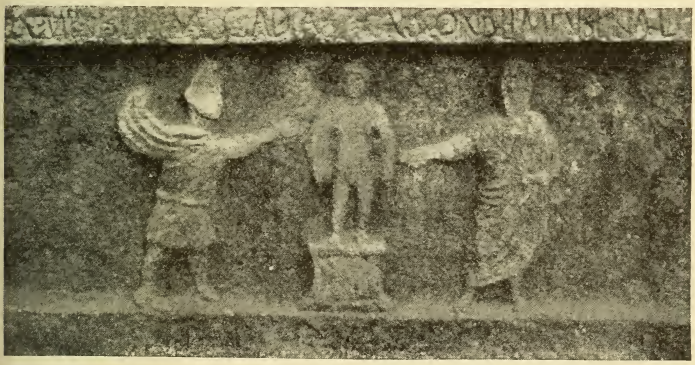
ASIA MINOR WHEN ROME FIRST ENTERED IT

When in 133 B.C. Attalus III left his domains to Rome, by whom they were organized as the Province of Asia, the rest of Asia Minor was split up into this tangle of independent kingdoms. Mithradates I of Parthia (d. 138) had extended the Parthian Empire to the Tigris, and shortly afterwards it reached the Euphrates.

serving latterly as quæstor in Sardinia, returned to Rome to take the place and avenge the death of his brother; being now some thirty years of age. He was elected to the tribunate (123). Flaccus also returned and celebrated a triumph for his Gallic victories.

The program initiated by the younger Gracchus was wider in scope and much more far-reaching than that of his brother. The new Sempronian laws extended the operation of the agrarian law and supplemented it by planting new colonies; one was for the first time to be over sea, on the desolate and forbidden site of Carthage. A dangerous precedent was set by a measure for providing the city population with corn at half price, the first of a series of more or less open bribes to the city voters. The next measures struck full at the power of the Senate. In the courts instituted for the trial of charges against provincial governors, the juries were composed of senators who even if honest were likely, and if dishonest were quite certain, to give judgment for the officials, members of their own order. For the Senate the law of Gracchus substituted members of the equestrian order, the wealthy commoners who were outside the senatorial body, and were virtually excluded from holding such appointments.

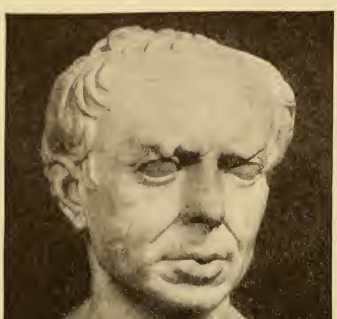
Gracchus did not, probably he could not legally, stand again for the tribunate; but the number of candidates being short, the tribes exercized their power, unquestionably legal in the circumstances, of reëlecting him, together with his most prominent supporter, Flaccus. But the nobles had put up a candidate of their own, Drusus, to outbid Gracchus in bribes for popular support. Drusus may have been honest enough himself, but the whole matter was an obvious political trick. He offered so much more than Gracchus that the tribune's popularity began to wane. Nor was his next measure calculated to restore it—a large extension of the franchise to the Italians, the scheme which had been held up by dispatching Flaccus to Gaul. Whatever the original intention may have been, the purpose was now clearly a unification of Italy much desired by the Italians, but not at all by most of the full Roman citizens. Drusus vetoed the bill, adding to his popularity.



STRIKING A BARGAIN IN THE SLAVE MARKET

In the second century B.C. the conditions of the slave population under Roman mastery grew steadily more deplorable until discontent culminated in the Servile War. The specific traffic in human flesh is illustrated in this bas-relief on a funeral stele from Capua; it depicts a naked man standing on a stone pedestal between a Greek slave-dealer and a togæd Roman who is purchasing him. It represents an actual incident in the life of one Satur, who happily rose from slavery to honorable freedom.

Museo Campano, Capua; from Rostovtzeff, "History of Ancient World: Rome," Clarendon Press



A GREAT GENERAL

Gaius Marius, though born of humble parentage, achieved the unique distinction of being elected consul seven times. He rendered distinguished service in the Jugurthine and Social Wars, and further created the professional Roman army.

Vatican Museum; photo, Alinari

THEN the Senate, as before they had removed Flaccus by dispatching him to Gaul, removed both Flaccus and Gracchus by sending them to superintend the colonizing of Carthage. By the time they were able to return their popularity had been completely undermined. Their bitterest enemy, Opimius, was elected consul, and both were rejected for the tribunate. It became obvious that the fate of Tiberius was to be their fate also. Flaccus raised a handful of armed supporters; the forces of law and order, led by the consul Opimius, marched against them, and cut them to pieces. Gracchus died by the hand of a faithful slave, who slew himself on his loved master's corpse.

IN 118 the king of Numidia, Micipsa, last of the sons of Masinissa, died, leaving the crown to his two young sons Hiempsal and Adherbal, jointly with a much older bastard nephew, Jugurtha, who was an experienced soldier, able and ambitious. He procured the assassination of Hiempsal; Adherbal fled for his life, and appealed to the Senate. Jugurtha had no case, but he had gold, with which his agents reached Rome before Adherbal, whose appeal was received by the Senate with a strange coldness. A commission, however, was sent, with Opimius, the enemy of Gracchus, at its head, to divide the kingdom between the two claimants. It awarded the major and wealthy part of it to Jugurtha, and Opimius returned a richer man. Following this Jugurtha murdered Adherbal.

Political morality was not dead in Rome. Hither Jugurtha was summoned and charged with his crimes before the Senate. The proceedings were stopped by the interposition of a tribune.

The Jugurthine war had already been declared in the previous year (111); it was not ended till 106. It was so ill managed that three ex-consuls, one being Opimius, retired into exile, and the incorruptible Quintus Metellus, one of the sons of Macedonicus, was sent out, with the low-born but equally incorruptible Gaius Marius (157-86), who had risen by sheer merit, and was now, in 109, second in command.

Metellus was a good soldier who conducted his campaigns with skill and vigor, but Jugurtha held out. Marius, a better soldier than Metellus, returned to Rome to stand for the consulship. By the time he returned to Africa as consul to supersede Metellus, it appeared that Jugurtha was beaten. Metellus went home bitterly disappointed at having had his laurels snatched from him; but Jugurtha was not finished yet. Marius could not catch him, and he found a dubious ally or protector in his neighbor Bocchus, king of Mauretania. Finally it was the supreme audacity and diplomatic skill of the quæstor Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78) that induced Bocchus to betray his protégé to the Romans and to a miserable death at Rome. But the conquest was credited to Marius.

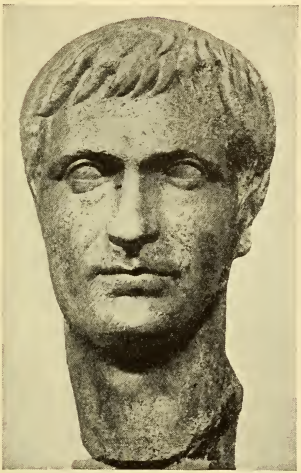
Before the conqueror of Numidia was back in Rome (104) he was reëlected to the consulship for the ensuing year, though the law as it then stood forbade reëlection and required the candidates to be present in Rome. He was the soldier of the hour, and the hour demanded a first-rate soldier commanding universal confidence. For during the Numidian war a tremendous menace had

been gathering head on the northern frontiers of Italy.

The advance hordes of the migrants, collectively known as Teutones and Cimbri (who were not, as we might be tempted to suppose, Celtic Cymri), threatened but were checked on the northeastern frontier of Italy in 113; rolling west past the Swiss mountains they poured into Gaul, flooding down the valley of the Saône and Rhône and also setting in motion the Helvetic (Swiss) Celts. They defeated one Roman consul, Silanus, in 109; and in 107 another, Cassius, was trapped by the Helvetii and lost his army and his life. In 105 the forces of the pro-consul Cæpio and the consul Mallius were severally annihilated by the Cimbri, with the loss of more than 100,000 men. Then for no obvious reason the tide for a moment surged off elsewhere.

Rome, then, turned to account the breathing-space allowed her, by placing the control and reorganization of her armies in the hands of her one general, making him consul year after year, regardless of rules framed not with military efficiency but with political stability in view. By new methods of recruiting and promotion and of rewarding service, Marius created a thing hitherto unknown in Italy—a professional army. By rigid training and discipline he brought it up to the highest standard of efficiency.

He was only just in time. In 103 the Germans were again massing on the Saône, with the intention of carrying out a double invasion of Italy—the plan which they developed next year—by way of the Maritime Alps on the west and of the northeastern Alps; the Teutones taking the west and the Cimbri the east. In 102 Marius, consul for the fourth time, annihilated the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ in Transalpine Gaul, while his colleague, the aristocrat Catulus, kept guard in the Cisalpine province. In 101, when the Cimbri poured through the passes into the plain of the Po, they were in turn annihilated by Marius and Catulus at Campi Raudii near Vercellæ.



SOLDIER AND STATESMAN TOO

Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78 B.C.) proved his brilliant military qualities in the Jugurthine, Teutonic, Social and Mithradatic Wars. He was appointed dictator in 82 B.C.

Chiaramonti Museum, Rome

Marius the consul himself insisted that Catulus the proconsul should share the triumph; but he was proud and the masses were proud of his humble origin. He was no politician, but he was inveigled easily enough by the demagogues, who saw a simple tool in the blunt old warrior, into serving their ends. His sixth consulship, not justified, like those preceding it, by any public emergency, was their work. The leaders, Saturninus and Glaucia, set about violent measures directed against the senatorial party; measures popular among the Italians, who reckoned Marius as one of themselves, but unpopular in the city.

Marius found himself losing credit; the violent partisans on each side got the upper hand, while he wavered between them.

The general brutalizing of moral standards had been further illustrated also by a second slave revolt in Sicily. The first had been accompanied by savage atrocities on the part of the insurgents, and its suppression the year after the murder of Tiberius Gracchus had been marked by wholesale atrocities on the part of the government, when in

one locality there were no fewer than twenty thousand crucifixions. Yet in 103 the slaves dared to revolt again—a sufficient demonstration of the hideous conditions under which they must have been living. It is not surprising that they fought so stubbornly that the revolt was only stamped out after a three years' struggle—during which, it is true, the resources of the state were being taxed by the Cimbrian war.

Then for nearly a decade after the sixth consulship of Marius, from 99 to 91, there was a lull, followed by another decade of strife. The pivot of the Eastern affairs was Mithradates VI, king of Pontus (to be distinguished from the Parthian kings bearing the same name), a monarch of great abilities and yet greater ambitions, whose activities called for the intervention of Roman arms and Roman diplomacy.

MITHRADATES VI

Mithradates VI, king of Pontus, 120-63 B.C., waged three separate wars with Rome, ended only by his suicide after his defeat by Pompey.

From Ward, "Greek Coins"

In 91 the senatorial moderates allied themselves with Livius Drusus, the son of that Drusus who had been brought forward by the same party to outbid Gaius Gracchus for the popular favor in 122. If the honesty of the father is open to doubt, that of the son is not. As tribune he proposed to add to the Senate an equal number of the knights, to extend the franchise to the Italians, and to reward the humbler citizens for their assent by new schemes for colonization and a further cheapening of corn for their benefit at the expense of the state. The populace, the senators and the knights each felt that they would be conceding too much and getting too little—and Drusus was assassinated.

The moderates had stood by Drusus loyally enough; but the opposition tribune now carried a bill declaring that to have supported franchise extension was treason. The excitement among the allies rose to fever heat; a Roman official was killed by an enraged mob at Asculum, the chief city of the Piceni, in central Italy; and from North to South the socii broke into open revolt, Marsi and Pæligni, Samnites, Lucanians, Apulians—eight nations in all. A federation was hastily formed with an emergency constitution; the Roman Senate declined to negotiate until compensation had been made for the outrage at Asculum; and the Social War (90-88) began.

Ill-organized as they necessarily were, since the outbreak was unpremeditated, the socii put up a very valiant fight. A number of towns fell into their hands at the outset, and they cut up a consular army. Marius, taking the field again, defeated them, but—perhaps deliberately—made no effort to crush them.

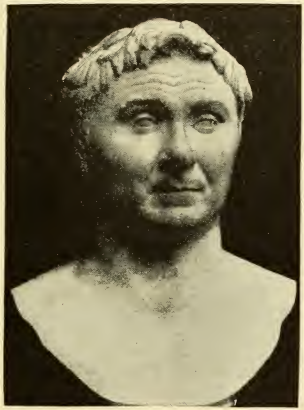
The death of one consul gave Sulla, who had been his lieutenant, the chance of showing his brilliant powers in the Samnite country; while the second consul, Pompeius Strabo, the father of a more famous son, conducted successful operations among the Piceni. By the end of the year resistance was maintained only in a few Samnite and Lucanian strongholds; and the Senate, though Asculum and other places had been dealt with hardly, supplemented the Julian law of the previous year with the Lex Plautia-Papiria, which granted the franchise to all who laid down arms within sixty days. But the question as to whether the new citizens were to be enrolled as new additional tribes or distributed among the existing tribes remained unsettled.

At the beginning of 88, then, the Social War was ended, save for the garrisons which were still holding out; but the immediate dispatch of an army to the East was made necessary by the activities of Mithradates. Sulla, as consul elect, and as the man who had won the Social War, expected the command; but Marius wanted it. He found an ally in the eloquent tribune Sulpicius. The Marians organized a coup de main, appearing at the Assembly with concealed arms, and carried their point, not without bloodshed.

But Sulla sped straight from the scene in Rome to his still undisbanded troops before Nola in Campania, where Samnites were still holding out.

and appealed to them to follow him. The officers hesitated; the men did not; and the consul marched on Rome at the head of six Roman legions. He was joined by his colleague Pompeius Rufus; they seized the city gates, marched in, and routed the force collected by Marius. Marius and Sulpicius fled; the Senate, overawed, at the bidding of the consuls, issued a decree of outlawry against the fugitives and ten of their followers, none protesting save a distinguished lawyer and leader of the moderates, Mucius Scævola.

Sulpicius alone was betrayed by one of his slaves and slain. The old bulldog Marius—he was in his seventieth year—made a most adventurous escape from Sulla's bloodhounds to Africa and thence to Corsica. Sulla could not prevent the election of Lucius Cornelius Cinna to the consulship in succession to Pompeius Rufus, who was murdered by the soldiery with the connivance of Pompeius Strabo, whom he had superseded; and then Sulla, threatened with a charge of treason for having led an army into the sacred precincts of the city, departed for the East with his troops, leaving Rome in the hands of Cinna, his declared enemy (87).



POMPEY THE GREAT

Gnæus Pompeius, known as Pompey (106-48 B.C.), won glory in Africa, Spain, and in the East. Thereafter his influence declined and he was defeated by Cæsar at Pharsalus.

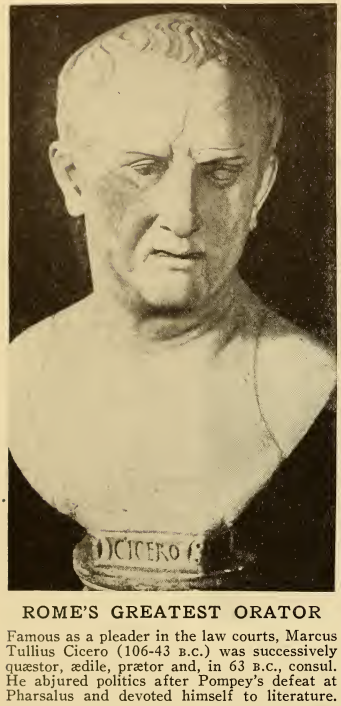
Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

Four years (87-83) passed before Sulla thought fit to return from his extremely efficient campaigning and diplomatizing in the East. During those years the revolution was rampant. Cinna revived the legislation and the methods of Sulpicius as champion of the Italians, and when his violence in the city was defeated by violence on the other side, he appealed as consul to the troops that had remained in Italy, and practically revived the Social War. Marius returned and joined him, more intent on vengeance than anything else. The senatorial commanders were inefficient or remained inactive of set purpose; the city had to open its gates to Marius and Cinna; and, in the week's reign of terror which followed, Marius wreaked his revenge on his enemies and on all whom he was disposed to reckon as enemies.

After the brief but hideous orgy of blood-lust which alarmed Cinna and disgusted the very notable Sabine Sertorius (c. 125-72), who had joined the anti-senatorial party, Marius seized his seventh consulship without election, but died a fortnight later (Jan., 87). Cinna remained master of Rome, and was continuously consul till he was killed in the course of a mutiny early in 84. In the spring of 83 Sulla landed in Italy with the army he had so often led to victory behind him. The forces at the disposal of the government were far larger; but Sertorius was ere long on his way to Spain as prætor, and every day adherents flocked to the standard of the avenger.

The real tug-of-war came in 82, when the Samnites flung themselves whole-heartedly into what was now the struggle of the popular revolution against the reactionary revolution of Sulla. But the prolonged and desperate battle of the Colline Gate (Aug., 82) was decisive. It made Sulla the master of the Roman world.

Fifty thousand men, dead or dying, were left on the field; eight thousand who were taken prisoners were three days later massacred in cold blood by Sulla's order. The champion of the constitution was appointed dictator for so long as he might think fit to retain the office, in order that he might insure the restoration of order. To that end he



ROME'S GREATEST ORATOR

Famous as a pleader in the law courts, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.) was successively quæstor, ædile, prætor and, in 63 B.C., consul. He abjured politics after Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus and devoted himself to literature.

Apsley House Collection, permission of Duke of Wellington

issued a series of proscriptions. If he chose to spare, he spared; and one of those whom he suffered to escape was a dissolute young patrician of eighteen, whose father's sister had been the wife of Marius, and who was himself the husband of Cinna's daughter—Gaius Julius Cæsar.

Then he set the constitution in order; in such wise that the whole power of the state would be in the hands of the senators if they had the wit to use it. The tribunate and the Assembly of Tribes had been the instruments used by the democrats for the overthrow of the senate; tribunes were to be barred from all further office, and the Assembly was deprived of the power of initiating legislation. The senatorial control of the courts was restored at the expense of the knights.

There were to be no more repeated consulships, like those of Marius and Cinna. Consuls were not to hold military commands till, after their year of office, they went abroad as proconsuls, when their powers could be exercised only in the particular province assigned to them. Such were the main features of the Sullan constitution of 81. Then in 79 the dictator discarded his powers and devoted the remaining months of his life to the debaucheries which carried him off in 78.

Outside the bounds of the Empire Mithradates VI (132-63), who had succeeded to the kingdom of Pontus in 120 at the age of twelve, set about the expansion and consolidation of his dominions, which he extended over the eastern littoral of the Euxine, known as Colchis, and to which he sought to add the semi-independent kingdoms of Cappadocia and Bithynia. In 99 he had withdrawn these pretensions at the bidding of Rome, just released from the Teutonic menace; he renewed them and again withdrew them in 92 at the bidding of Sulla, who had been sent as governor to Cilicia. When the Social War broke out, however, Sulla was back in Italy, and Rome was very fully occupied, so Mithradates invaded the Roman Province of Asia, which welcomed a deliverer from the Roman tyranny. He successfully overran it, captured and put to death its detested governor Aquillus, and ordered a general massacre of Italians, to the number of 80,000. Half Achæa, Athens, taking the lead, followed the example of Asia, and rose against its Roman rulers, supported by the king and troops of the king of Pontus. Such was the situ tion when in 87 Sulla carried his army from Italy to Greece, leaving Rome in the hands of Cinna.

Athens was the center of resistance in Greece. Its fortifications, and those of the Piræus against which Sulla directed his main attack, defied all the efforts of his engineers, while his lieutenant Lucius Lucullus was raising a fleet to deprive Mithradates of his command of the Ægean. Early in 86, however, Athens was starved out, and the port soon afterwards surrendered. Both paid a heavy penalty. But Archelaus, the ablest officer of Mithradates, had now assembled a large army in Thessaly. Sulla, with no

more than a sixth of his numbers, shattered his force on the old battlefield of Chæronea.

A Roman consul, Valerius Flaccus, with his lieutenant Fimbria and fresh forces, was in Epirus, on the way to supersede Sulla, who had no intention of being superseded. While he was on his way north to deal with Flaccus, huge reinforcements arrived from Asia for Archelaus. Sulla promptly wheeled southward, and repeated at Orchomenus the triumph of Chæronea. Meanwhile Flaccus, avoiding a conflict with Sulla, was hastening to the Hellespont to fight Mithradates in Asia; but Fimbria, with schemes of his own, made away with his chief, assumed the command himself, and crossing the strait started operations on his own account.

Sulla opened negotiations with the defeated Archelaus, who was disposed to peace on the terms of a return to the prewar position, the more because Lucullus was now master of the sea. A conference was arranged between Sulla and the king, and a treaty was struck by which Mithradates was to surrender his conquests, to hand over seventy ships and to pay an indemnity (85).

It remained to settle with Fimbria, who committed suicide when he found himself deserted by his troops on Sulla's approach; and thus in 84 Sulla was able to return to Italy to carry through the revolution already described, leaving the settlement of the East in the very competent hands of Lucullus, who dealt with the sorely pressed provincials as gently as his instructions permitted. The command, however, passed on to another of Sulla's lieutenants, Murena, who before the dictator's resignation attacked Mithradates again, and was allowed a triumph; though the war was promptly stopped by Rome.

Two men had risen to prominence as supporters of Sulla. One was Publius Licinius Crassus (117-53), to whom the victory of the Colline Gate was largely due; the other, Gnæus Pompeius (106-48)—Pompey—the young son of Pompeius Strabo. Youthful though he was, Pompey had shown remarkable military talents, which induced Sulla to entrust him with the suppression of the Marians in Africa; whereby he won from the dictator the complimentary title of Magnus, "the Great." Crassus had no little ability, but he chose to concentrate it on the acquisition of wealth, with power as a subsidiary aim.

Sulla was hardly dead when the inevitable attempt to overturn his constitution

EXPLOITS OF CÆSAR IN THE "THREE GAULS"

Cæsar's military energy can be gauged by the number of his battles in Gaul. His division of Transalpine Gaul, other than Narbonensis, into three parts—Aquitania, Celtica and Belgica—was recognized by Augustus when, with some alterations of boundaries, he made of it three provinces.

TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT ORANGE

One of the earliest examples of the Roman triumphal arch, this splendid structure was erected at Orange, not far from Avignon, about 46 B.C. to commemorate Cæsar's conquest of Massilia and the reduction of Gaul to submission.

Photo, Mansell

was made by the consul Lepidus, posing as champion of the popular party. When he took up arms, however, he was easily crushed (77).

In one quarter, the Marians had not been suppressed. Sertorius, as we saw, retreated to Spain when Sulla returned to Italy, and there he was making himself a formidable power. He was very much more than a match for the Roman forces sent to deal with him. Pompey, charged with the business in 77, fared not much better than his predecessors; and presently Mithradates—resentful of Murena's attack and no longer in awe of Sulla—was negotiating with Sertorius, with the intention of renewing the war in 74. The alliance in fact came to naught, because Sertorius was assassinated in 72. Pompey returned to Italy to claim and receive credit, scarcely deserved, for having succeeded where others had failed.

By this time the Third or Great Mithradatic War was already in full swing in the East, and a third slave-rising, this time in Italy itself, was receiving its death-blow. Slaves were trained as gladiators; and in 73 such a one, a Thracian named Spartacus, broke away with seventy comrades from the "school" at Capua and took refuge in the hills. The numbers of his band swelled rapidly; for months he kept his men well in hand under strict discipline, and routed two commanders who were sent to take him. In 72 he had so formidable a host at his back that two consular armies were sent against him, and he routed both of them.

Pompey was away in the West, Lucullus in the East. It was Crassus who at the head of six legions at last brought Spartacus to bay, shattered his army, and slew him on the field (71). Five thousand of the gladiatorial soldiery cut their way through but only to be blotted out by the forces of Pompey, just back from Spain. To his Spanish laurels Pompey added those which were justly due to Crassus. Crassus, seeing that the popular soldier might be useful to him, did not quarrel: Pompey and he together could clearly do what they chose.

They chose, in fact, to undermine the foundations of the Sullan constitution. As consuls, during 70, they procured the annulment of the disabilities imposed on the tribunate by the Cornelian laws, thereby restoring also the lost legislative powers of the Tribal Assembly; and another law gave a new constitution to the Courts—which became one-third equestrian and one-third senatorial, while the remaining third was selected by certain elected officers. They had won the first point because the Senate dared not refuse the demand, however unconstitutional, of two successful generals, each with an army behind him.

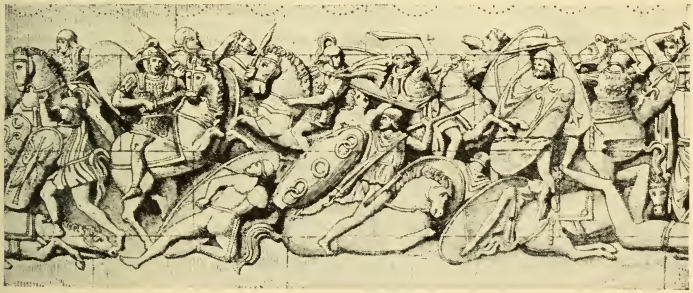
Meanwhile, the developments in the East had produced a situation for dealing with which some quite unprecedented step was becoming imperative.

When Sulla the invincible disappeared from the stage, Mithradates was on the alert for a chance of reviving his project of an Asiatic empire. The opportunity came in 74, when Nicomedes of Bithynia died and, like Attalus, left his kingdom to the Roman people. Mithradates put up a pretender on whose behalf he invaded Bithynia. The consul Cotta could make no head against the king; but Lucius Lucullus was dispatched to be governor of Cilicia and to deal with Mithradates.

THOUGH provided only with a comparatively small and undisciplined force, Lucullus conducted his operations with such skill that within the year he had broken up the army of Mithradates without having had to fight a pitched battle, and driven the king into his own territory. By a series of campaigns during the following years Mithradates was compelled to flee to Tigranes of Armenia. Lucullus, having subjugated Pontus, proceeded to a general settlement of Asia Minor, to the great satisfaction of the population and the corresponding annoyance of the soldiery and the tax-farmers, whose depredations he firmly repressed. In 69 he advanced against Tigranes, who had scornfully refused his demand for the surrender of Mithradates, captured his capital, Tigranocerta, and in the next year routed his forces. But then Lucullus found himself paralyzed by the mutinous spirit of his own troops, and was forced (67) to withdraw to Pontus, where Mithradates had reappeared; there Lucullus learned that he himself was to be superseded.

While Lucullus was pursuing his victorious career, the Cilician pirates were successfully defying the naval power of Rome. Matters came to something like a climax in 74. In that year Marcus Antonius, son of a famous orator and father of the still more famous Mark Antony, was given a special commission for their suppression and failed disgracefully. After his death, indeed, matters were improved, when the consul Quintus Metellus was sent out in 69; but Pompey had now decided that the task was eminently suitable for himself. In 67 a measure proposed by the tribune Gabinius in the teeth of senatorial opposition, but supported by Cæsar, who was now making himself the rising hope of the old Marians, gave Pompey an almost unlimited command in the Mediterranean. He spread his fleets across the Mediterranean and swept it clean from end to end.

Not so Mithradates or his ally Tigranes: the generalship and the statesmanship of Lucullus were fully equal to the task, but they were foiled by a mutinous soldiery and the hostility of the Roman moneyed interest. By popular acclamation Pompey, fresh from his brilliant triumph over the pirates, was given supreme and unlimited authority over the whole East, to be retained until he himself should be satisfied with the completeness of the settlement he might effect. Such powers had never before been bestowed on any man save Sulla. Senatorial constitutionalists might shake anxious heads, but the tide of Pompey's popularity was irresistible. From 66 to 62 he was absorbed in campaigns and organization of the East.



SHOCK OF BATTLE BETWEEN ROMAN AND GAUL

The bas-reliefs on the triumphal arch at Orange furnish much detailed information as to the armor, including large oblong shields and horned helmets, and the weapons used by the Gauls in Provence in the first century B.C. On the north and south fronts are animated pictures of the Romans and Barbarians in the shock of conflict, from which we learn that the Gauls fought naked except for the "sagum," a coarse woolen blanket worn plaid-wise over the shoulder.

From Caristie, "Monuments antiques à Orange"

TROPHIES FROM GAUL

Cæsar returned to Rome in 49 B.C. and the trophy on the reverse of this coin denotes his victories in Gaul. The figures LII (52) on the obverse may indicate his age and his eligibility for a second consulate.

British Museum

In his first campaign Pompey forced Mithradates to fight him, and routed him on the eastern border of Pontus, whence the king, refused an asylum by Tigranes, escaped to the northern shores of the Black Sea. There, out of reach of the Roman, he busied himself with a grand scheme of invading Italy at the head of the barbarian tribes of eastern Europe. That project, however, was brought to naught by the revolt of his son Pharnaces, and in 63, broken at last in his old age, Mithradates died by his own hand.

Pompey, on defeating Mithradates, left the fugitive king to his own devices while he secured the conquered territory from external attack. In this there was little difficulty. Tigranes had already suffered so severely at the hands of Lucullus that he had withdrawn his countenance from Mithradates and his troops from Syria, to which he had recently extended his sovereignty. When Pompey marched into Armenia, the king made haste to offer abject submission.

Returning to Pontus, Pompey saw that nothing was to be gained by attempting to hunt down Mithradates beyond the Caucasus, and so ended his first triumphant year devoted to the organization of Asia Minor. Pontus was transformed into a Roman province, with Bithynia, and the province of Cilicia was enlarged. The minor principalities on the border, Cappadocia, Galatia and Commagene, were recognized as being under Roman protection. The second year was spent in bringing this work to completion, and in 64 Pompey turned his attention to Syria.

During the last sixty years the once mighty kingdom of the Seleucids had gone utterly to wreck. Parthia had already absorbed Media and Persia. A Jewish kingdom was established under the Levitical Hasmonæan dynasty, with an Idumean (Edomite) kingdom to the south of it, in the northwest of Arabia. Claimants, legitimate or otherwise, to the crown of the Seleucids wrangled and deposed and assassinated each other in lurid succession till in 84 Tigranes of Armenia fell upon the distracted land and annexed it. A few years later the Roman menace to his own land made him retire from it again. Syria lay at the feet of the conqueror of Mithradates and Tigranes.

Syria had everything to gain and nothing to lose from the setting up of an efficient authority. When in 64 Pompey descended from Cappadocia upon the ancient Land of the Amorites, he only needed, so far as the whole northern region was concerned, to assume the sovereignty on behalf of Rome, and to give it the organization of a Roman province. On the other hand, the Hasmonæan princes of Judæa had been admitted to the alliance and occasional protection of Rome for half a century, and there was no immediate warrant for annexation. The Jews themselves provided the justification.

At this time (63) the supremacy was in dispute between two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and appeal was made to Pompey to arbitrate between them. Pompey's award was in favor of

JUBA I OF NUMIDIA

Cicero comments on Juba's fine head of hair and Suetonius relates that in 62 B.C. Cæsar once pulled him by the beard. Thus this coin, inscribed in Punic on the reverse, bears a characteristic portrait. Juba was king of Numidia, 60-46 B.C.

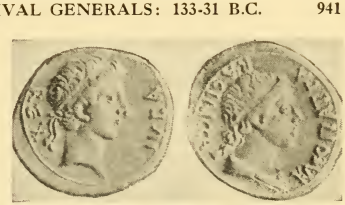
British Museum

Hyrcanus, and the puritans; but the followers of Aristobulus in Jerusalem rejected alien dictation. Consequently, Jerusalem underwent a stubbornly contested siege; and when at last the conqueror entered it, he left Hyrcanus in possession, but as a tributary of Rome. Judæa was made a division of the province of Syria. Pompey had in effect extended the empire of the Roman Republic to the Euphrates.

During the five years of Pompey's absence in the East the government at Rome had passed through a grave crisis. Cæsar, the nephew of Marius and the son-in-law of Cinna, was systematically and even audaciously courting popularity, while he was far too cool-headed to commit himself to any of the schemes of subversive violence that might be developed by the hot-heads of the anti-senatorial party. Among these hot-heads was Lucius Sergius Catalina (Cataline—c. 106-62) a profligate patrician, who was reputed at least to have no scruples in such matters as assassination, but was undoubtedly possessed of the virtues of courage and loyalty to his friends and associates.

On the other hand the ranks of the senatorial party were joined by the most brilliant orator of the day, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43), a "new man" to whom the exclusive optimates were by no means eager to extend a welcome. He had distinguished himself, too, by his attack on Verres, who as prætor in Sicily had been guilty of many enormities, and by his panegyric on Pompey—no favorite with the senatorial class—when the Manilian law gave him his Eastern command. Cataline in 64 was a candidate for the consulship of the ensuing year, having just been barely acquitted on a charge of treasonable conspiracy. To save so dangerous a situation, the optimates adopted the popular orator as their candidate, and Catiline was defeated.

Then, if not before, Catiline definitely planned revolution; while Cæsar occupied himself with measures certain to enhance his own popularity, whether they were carried or not, and to diminish that of the consul who, having now definitely attached himself to the optimates, was bound to oppose them. Cæsar's unwelcome success was demonstrated by his election to the dignified office of Pontifex Maximus over the heads of the most eminent senatorial candidates.



JUBA KING OF MAURETANIA

Juba II was taken as a child captive to Rome by Cæsar to grace his triumph in 46 B.C. He married the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and in 25 B.C. was recognized King of Mauretania where he reigned until about 18 B.C.

British Museum

But the great event of the year (63) was Catiline's conspiracy and its defeat.

A treasonable correspondence between him and the Gallic tribe of the Allobroges fell into the hands of the consul, who was endowed with emergency powers; the principal conspirators were surprised and arrested; and from some of them confession of the sanguinary intentions was extracted. The prisoners were condemned to death by decree, without trial—on the legal plea that they were not citizens whom it was illegal to put to death without sanction of the Tribal Assembly, but public enemies. Cicero told the whole story to the multitude gathered in the Forum amid frantic applause, and ever after regarded himself as the savior of Rome.

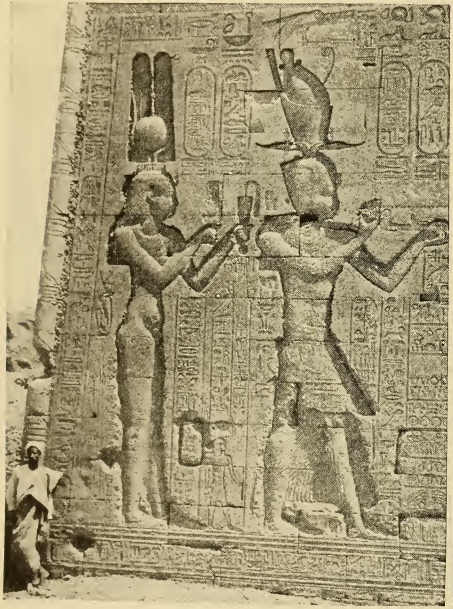
Catiline and his principal lieutenant fell fighting indomitably at the head of the troops they had succeeded in raising. For the moment at least the specter of revolution was laid. Cæsar as the constitutional leader of the democrats denounced the unconstitutional execution of the prisoners, but it was quite impossible to bring home to him any charge of complicity in the conspiracy, while his popularity with the mob and the senatorial mistrust of him were increased.

Catiline fell early in 62. Pompey was on the point of returning with his laurels and his legions from the East. No one knew what he intended to do, and every man knew that he could do whatever he chose; but he gave no sign. Both Cæsar

and Cicero wanted his alliance; but Cæsar knew how to wait and turn events to his own account. At present Crassus with his gold was more important than Pompey with his men; the money of Crassus enabled Cæsar to take up the proprætorship in Spain, soon after Pompey's landing at Brundusium.

The anxiety caused by Pompey's approach was intensified by the proposal of one of his partisans that he should be invested with the supreme command in Italy because of the disturbed state of the country; actually this was vetoed, but not till Cæsar had taken the opportunity to commend it. Constitutionalists, however, took comfort when the returned general instead of remaining in arms dismissed his troops. He was not minded to play the part of a Sulla or a Marius; but what part he did mean to play was, and remained, an open question.

In 60 Cæsar returned from Spain, enriched by the spoils of successful campaigns against insurgent tribes, to stand for the consulship. The temper in which he found Pompey made it easy for him by an exercise of his diplomatic astuteness to secure the alliance of the general and to reconcile him with the useful Crassus. The partnership was to be sealed next year by the marriage of Pompey to



CLEOPATRA QUEEN OF EGYPT: LAST OF THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy XIII Auletes, was born in 69 B.C. and became Queen of Egypt at the age of seventeen. Her personal fascination captivated Julius Cæsar, by whom she had a son, Cæsarion. All three are represented on the relief (left) on the temple of Hathor at Dendera. After Cæsar's assassination Cleopatra returned to Egypt, became the mistress of Mark Antony, and after his defeat by Octavian at Actium fled to Alexandria, where she committed suicide, August 29, 30 B.C.

Photos, Donald McLeish and Mansell

Cæsar's daughter Julia. With Pompey and Crassus supporting him, Cæsar was triumphantly elected consul.

He used his year of office (59) to establish his position. An agrarian law, obstinately opposed in the Senate, but openly supported by Pompey and Crassus, was carried in the Assembly. The knights, whom Cicero thirsted to unite with the optimates, were detached by the relaxation—opposed by the latter—of the terms of their contract for the farming of taxes in Asia. The acts of Pompey in the East were ratified. And finally Cæsar procured for himself, for the unprecedented term of five years, the proconsulship of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum; to which the Senate, hoping to be well rid of him, added Transalpine Gaul, where trouble was threatening.

Before departing for his province in 58 Cæsar arranged to leave the optimates without a leader, by dispatching the austere and uncompromising Cato "of Utica" (95-46) to effect the annexation of Cyprus, and by enabling the profligate Publius Claudius, better known as Clodius, who had a violent grudge against Cicero, to obtain the tribunate. The orator, attacked for the illegal execution of Roman citizens in his consulate, was obliged to go into exile in Greece.

For a time Clodius exercised his powers unchecked, since neither Pompey nor Crassus chose to interfere; among his measures was one that insured the distribution of corn not even at half price but gratis to the populace. But the reckless violence of his conduct lost him the countenance of Pompey, who next year (57) showed his displeasure by procuring the recall of Cicero; a measure which Clodius and his associates opposed by riotous force, which was met and defeated by the equally lawless violence of the senatorial tribune Milo Cicero, who on his return found himself surprisingly popular, had nothing better to propose than that Pompey should be invested with dictatorial powers for the restoration of order. The full powers were not conveyed to him, and of those he did receive he made no effective use.

Clodius was indeed held in check, but, beyond that, a senatorial reaction was clearly threatening; very dangerous to the interests of Cæsar, who in the intervals of his Gallic campaigns was keeping keen watch on affairs at the capital. In 56, when he was in Cisalpine Gaul, he held a conference with his two allies at Lucca; the result of which was that Pompey and Crassus stood for the consulship against a senatorial candidate, and were elected mainly because the son of Crassus, who had been serving brilliantly under Cæsar, was at no great distance from Rome with a returning legion.

It did not suit Cæsar to return to Rome at this stage. To secure the control of the situation for himself and his associates, Pompey procured the extension of Cæsar's proconsulship for a further term of five years (till the end of 49); Crassus received the Eastern command against the Parthians, and for himself Pompey obtained the proconsulship of Spain, though he intended to discharge the duties of that office by deputy, while he himself remained at Rome in effective control. These also were appointments for five years. The powers of these three colleagues, unofficially known as the First Triumvirate, were irresistible.

But in the ensuing years Cæsar was kept at a distance by the Gallic campaigns

MEMORIALS OF TRAGIC LOVERS

The upper copper tetradrachm of Mark Antony bears a bust of his wife Octavia on the reverse above a mystic cista set between coiled serpents. On the Phœnician tetradrachm below Mark Antony appears with her supplanter, Cleopatra.

From Ward, "Greek Coins," John Murray

which demanded all his energies. In 54 Pompey's young wife died and with her death disappeared the personal link that had bound him so closely to his father-in-law. Crassus started for the East; but only to meet his death next year (53) at the hands of a foe whom Rome was destined never to subdue, in the terrible military disaster of Carrhæ in north Mesopotamia, where the Roman army was almost destroyed by the Parthians.

A CRIME IN LIBERTY'S NAME

A cardinal event in history is commemorated in this coin with its portrait of Brutus and, on the reverse, the famous Cap of Liberty, set between daggers above the date the Ides of March, when Cæsar fell.

British Museum

And Pompey, remaining in or near Rome, did nothing. Only he watched with growing jealousy the successive triumphs of Cæsar in Gaul. Even the ordinary routine of government was thrown out of gear by the tribunes of either party, who vied with each other in suspending elections to the magistracies.

In 52 matters seemed to have come to a head. Clodius, still the leader of the popular extremists, was killed in an affray with the followers of Milo, the leader of the senatorial extremists. Cicero wished but did not dare to defend Milo publicly; Pompey did not choose to protect him, and he had to take to flight. Pompey, commissioned to restore order and elected sole consul, was virtually dictator; but his official dictatorship might have involved an immediate collision with Cæsar. What he actually did made a hardly less definite breach between them. While he procured a five years' extension of his own Spanish proconsulship, he had a law passed under which Cæsar's successor might take his place nearly a year earlier, and consular candidates must be present at their election; though a special decree exempted Cæsar from this latter condition. For the moment Cæsar was paralyzed by a sudden revolt in Gaul on a very large scale.

In the first year of his governorship, 58, Cæsar's powers had been put to the proof. His presence was now urgently required in Gaul—Transalpine Gaul—because of the movement among the Teutonic tribes on the east of the Rhine and their pressure on the Helvetic (Swiss) Celts. It was doubtlss in consequence of this pressure that the Helvetii determined to migrate eastwards in a vast body and establish themselves in new pastures. That would mean a general upheaval in Gaul, and a serious threat to the Roman province. The year 58 was therefore at first occupied with a campaign in which the invaders were split in two and their forces so heavily defeated that they had to retire to their own mountains.

But this only brought into relief the German menace which had been scotched by the great victories of Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ and Campi Raudii between forty and fifty years earlier. German tribes (Suevi, Swabians) were over the Rhine, threatening to subjugate the Ædui, the Gallic allies of Rome on the northern borders of the Province; their chief, Ariovistus, having in mind a partition of Gaul between himself and the Romans. Cæsar led his legions to the help of the Ædui, inspired with his own audacity the men who were on the verge of panic, since the German warriors had a terrifying reputation, and utterly routed Ariovistus, who was barely able to escape back across the Rhine with a remnant of his forces.

The Germans were driven back, but the victory aroused all over Gaul the fear that a general conquest was impending. The Roman approach was especially resented by the Nervii, the leading tribes of the warlike Belgæ of the northeast, who had hitherto refused intercourse with the southern people. Cæsar, warned by friendly Gauls that an attack was to be expected, struck first, invading Nervian territory in 57. The Nervii fought heroically; there was a moment in the decisive battle when only the personal leadership of Cæsar saved the Roman army from annihilation; but the actual victory was over-

whelming, and was followed by a general submission of the tribes between the Aisne and the Rhine.

The alarm of the Belgæ, however, had been thoroughly warranted; for during the next year, 56, Cæsar, after his conference at Lucca with Pompey and Crassus, reduced the whole of Gaul to submission in the course of three campaigns—justified, of course, by aggressive movements among the barbarians—conducted either by himself or his lieutenants in the northeast, the southwest and Armorica (Brittany).

The two following years were occupied with expeditions and campaigns of an experimental kind. In 55 a fresh irruption of Germans across the middle Rhine was completely shattered in the neighborhood of the modern Coblenz—a pretext having been found for detaining their chiefs, who had been invited to a conference—and the victory was followed by a great raid over the river into German territory, which made Cæsar decide that the Rhine should remain the boundary.

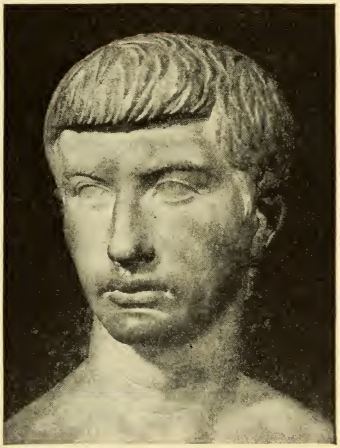
Afterwards, Cæsar made his first exploring expedition to Britain, a land hitherto known only by report of mercantile travelers. In 54, when Crassus was on his way to the East, Cæsar made the second British expedition, and reduced the southeast of the island to submission, but decided that a real conquest was not worth undertaking, for the present at least.

In that winter and in 53, the year of the disaster of Carrhæ, Cæsar was occupied with the suppression of ominous insurrections in northeastern Gaul; and then, in 52, just when Pompey's jealousy was at its height, a great war of liberation was organized in the very heart of Gaul by the heroic Arvernian chief Vercingetorix.

So stubborn and so able was the Gallic chief that all Cæsar's energies were required for the campaign before the center of resistance was broken and Vercingetorix himself captured; and the whole of 51 was fully occupied with the military organization and the establishment of the garrisons needed for the effective retention of Cæsar's conquests, which were said to have been accomplished at the cost of more than a million Gallic and German lives. Meanwhile the party in Rome most hostile to him was straining itself to the utmost to effect his destruction between the termination of his present appointment and his entry upon new powers.

Cæsar would be secure from attack if he passed straight from his proconsulship to a new consulship, to which he was secure of election, but on which he could not enter till 48. If he could be deprived of his troops before that date, he would be indicted for his questionable proceedings in Gaul, and his fate would be sealed, while Pompey with his prolonged command would still have the disposal of his own troops. Pompey's jealous fears forced him at last into definite alliance with the optimates. In 51 Cæsar's agents in Rome delayed a decree which would have displaced him in March, 49, but the proposal was only deferred, and meanwhile two legions were detached from him, but retained in Italy, to be ready for service against the Parthians in the East.

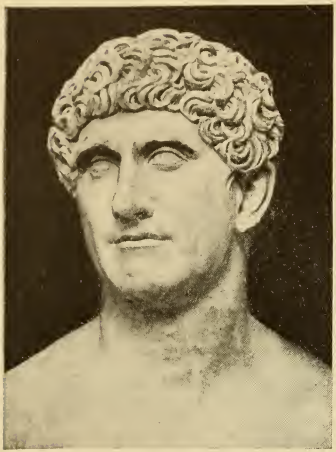
In the spring of 50 the question of re-



AN IRRECONCILABLE REPUBLICAN

Marcus Junius Brutus (85-42 B.C.) took the side of Pompey in the Civil War. Although after Pharsalus Cæsar showed him clemency, Brutus was one of the Dictator's murderers. He committed suicide after his defeat at Philippi.

Museo Capitolino, Rome; photo, Brogi



A SPLENDID VICTIM OF AMBITION

Marcus Antonius (83-30 B.C.) was one of the triumvirs who at Philippi avenged Julius Cæsar's murder. Thereafter he shared the Roman world with Octavian until in 31 B.C. East and West joined battle, and at Actium he met defeat.

Vatican Museum; photo, Anderson

distributing the provinces—authorized by the legislation of 52—came up again for settlement. Cæsar's agents in Rome proposed compromises: that he and Pompey should resign simultaneously, or that he should retain one only of his three provinces. Pompey refused, but proposed that Cæsar should not resign till November, 49; which would still leave two months for his prosecution and overthrow. Cæsar refused; and, having completed the settlement of Farther Gaul, he was now in Cisapline Gaul with one veteran legion. Pompey, commissioned by the Senate, left Rome to raise more troops in Italy. In January, 49, Cæsar repeated his offer of a joint resignation; the Senate again rejected it, and replied with a decree giving a free hand "for the defense of the Republic" to the consuls for the current year, both senatorials.

Cæsar was still in his province, of which the boundary was the river Rubicon, with his veterans behind him. The momentous choice was before him; he must submit and suffer his enemies utterly to destroy him, or strike for empire. He made his choice. At the head of his one legion, on the night of January 6, 49, he crossed the Rubicon—an act of open rebellion against the government.

Pompey was not prepared for the sudden swiftness of his adversary. Without waiting for the reinforcements which he forthwith summoned from Farther Gaul, Cæsar swooped down on Umbria and Picenum, which were not prepared to resist. Town after town yielded, and having yielded was won over to his side by his politic clemency and the firm control under which he kept his soldiery. In six weeks he was before Corfinium, where he was joined by another legion from Gaul; Corfinium was surrendered by the soldiery and he sped south in pursuit of Pompey. Pompey had already made up his mind to abandon Italy and raise in the East the forces which were to overwhelm the rebel, and he with all his troops embarked at Brundusium, which he had reached before Cæsar could come up with him.

Cæsar, thus balked, was back in Rome, with no foe to fight in Italy, within three months of the crossing of the Rubicon, and with all the ordinary machinery of government suspended. He secured the sinews of war by seizing the treasury, and before setting out in pursuit of Pompey turned west, to deal with Spain and put the Pompeian legions there out of action.

Returning to Rome, Cæsar assumed the dictatorship in order to hold a consular election; as consul he passed some popular laws, and then prepared for the decisive contest in the East, where a large force was now collecting under Pompey and the senatorial leaders. The Pompeians held the seas, and it was with difficulty that he succeeded in crossing with his first army to Epirus, where he was shut up within his own lines by the much larger army of Pompey in November.

Some months of maneuvering followed. Pompey, though his forces outnumbered Cæsar's, knew that his eastern levies were not to be matched with Cæsar's veterans, and wished to avoid a pitched battle. The rest, detesting Pompey only less than Cæsar, scoffed at his pusillanimity, and

clamored for battle; till at last, at midsummer, Pompey was goaded into delivering an attack, on the plain of Pharsalus in Thessaly. The fight hung long in the balance, but ended in the complete rout of Pompey's army, with immense slaughter. Pompey himself escaped to the coast, took ship with a few loyal comrades, and made his way by slow degress to Egypt, where on landing he found awaiting him not the asylum he looked for but the dagger of a Roman assassin, commissioned by the Egyptian government.

Even after the great defeat, all was not lost. Asia no doubt was off the board, but Egypt might be brought on to it. The Pompeians were in complete command of the sea. Africa was in their hands, and Juba of Numidia was with them. Cæsar was not yet master.

Therefore, at the first possible moment, he set out with a small force after Pompey and, evading the enemy fleets, tracked him to Egypt, where the government's envoys met him not with his living rival but with the dead man's head. For months to come, however, Cæsar with his troops was locked up in Egypt. For the government, nominally that of the young king, Ptolemy Dionysius, was actually in the hands of a powerful minister, an ambitious adventurer named Achillas, who had no more intention of falling under Cæsar's domination than Pompey's; while he was playing off against each other the Ptolemy and his fascinating sister Cleopatra. Meanwhile the Pompeians were taking heart to renew the contest in Africa, and their fleet prevented reinforcements from reaching Cæsar in Egypt, where in the intervals of critical fighting he was amusing himself with Cleopatra's charms.

It was not till the turn of the year that Cæsar was able to inflict a crushing defeat on Achillas in which both the minister and Ptolemy lost their lives; and Cæsar set Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt, where he continued to dally till May (47).

Pharnaces, the son of Mithradates, had seized the opportunity to recover power in Pontus. The legions in Spain were in mutiny against their Cæsarian commander. Italy was uneasy. The Pompeians, among them two of Pompey's sons, Gnæus and Sextus, were making head in Africa. In a lightning campaign, Cæsar shattered the power of Pharnaces—the occasion of his famous dispatch, "I came, I saw, I conquered"—and in July he was back in Rome, formally appointed dictator for the second time.

He found the legions in Campania mutinous, demanding their discharge. What they wanted was not discharge but more pay. Cæsar coolly, but with stinging words of contemptuous reproach, discharged them; whereupon they implored him with tears to reinstate them on any terms, and he granted the petition. It was a triumph of personality.

Then he carried a force to Africa, but was unable to strike a decisive blow until in February (46) he shattered the senatorial forces at Thapsus.

The sons of Pompey and some of the leaders who escaped fled to Spain; others, like Cato, slew themselves. In friendly but mortal single combat Petreius—who in 49 had all but entrapped Cæsar in Spain—was killed by the bold king of Numidia, Juba; who then by his own order was slain by one of his own slaves. Numidia was annexed and made a new province. At the end of May Cæsar returned

FUTURE MASTER OF THE WORLD

Octavian was eighteen, studying at Apollonia, when he learned of the death of Julius Cæsar; and the immature, studious-looking features of this bust show how little the Roman world can have recognized its future master.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Brogi

to Rome to celebrate a series of triumphs, not over Roman citizens but over the Gauls, Egypt, Pharnaces and Juba. For four months he was occupied, as dictator for the third time, in reorganizing the imperial system, in legislating and in planning and starting public works.

Then he was called again to Spain, where the Pompeys were once more trying to make head; both were sons born to Pompey before his marriage to Cæsar's daughter. In Spain sickness kept him inactive till the end of the year. Then he moved on the Pompeians, and in March, 45, crushed them finally at Munda, the most desperately fought of all his battles. Sextus Pompeius escaped to the hills; Gnæus and the other leaders fell. Six months more were occupied with the settlement of Spain; in October Cæsar was once more in Rome.

Into the few months of his regime he compressed a surprising amount of social and economic legislation, intended at least to palliate chronic evils from which the community suffered. Incidentally, he reformed the calendar and placed it on the sound astronomical base which, with one small subsequent modification, is in use at the present day. It must also be remarked that on his return to Rome in 46 Cæsar astonished the world by setting aside all precedent and declaring a complete amnesty; taking no sort of revenge on any of his past enemies, public or private, and extending to many of them favors which almost any other man would have reserved for his personal friends or partisans. Yet that magnanimity failed to conciliate either their jealousy or their abstract devotion to republican theory.

A monarchy, a tyrannis, was in fact established, under the republican title of dictatorship, while the ancient title of kingship remained as intolerable as ever to the Roman mind. That fact was made obvious when Cæsar's lieutenant Antony offered him a kingly crown at the festival of the Lupercalia in February, 44, an offer which he rejected with dramatic effect but with obvious reluctance. On that fact his enemies, former adherents of Pompey for the most part, counted, but counted too confidently. To effect his overthrow by any legal methods was manifestly impossible, but Cæsar was aiming at making himself king, and tradition extolled tyrannicide. A conspiracy was formed by a group which included several men who were designated for the highest offices, some of them his personal friends. He never took precautions for his personal safety; and at a meeting of the Senate on the Ides (15th) of March, they gathered round him on the pretext of urging a petition, and stabbed him to death.

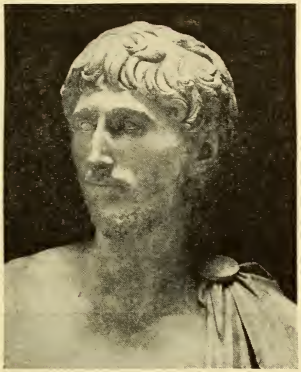
For the moment Cæsar's fall produced sheer paralysis. The conspirators imagined that they were going to restore the senatorial republic amid general acclamation; when, actually, none save politicians of their own party were ready to acclaim them. Among them there were prominent and able men, but no individual of dominating capacity or personality. The enemy they had most to fear was Mark Antony, consul designate, and a whole-hearted devotion to his dead chief. There would almost certainly be a duel between the conspirators' party and Antony. Neither of them took count of a lad of eighteen away in Macedon, whom the childless Cæsar had adopted, his great-nephew Octavius; now to be known as Cæsar Octavianus, though the adoption had not been made in form.

The duel did not open at once; there was a hollow reconciliation. Antony, however, secured Cæsar's papers and obtained from a hesitating Senate formal ratification of Cæsar's acts, and a public funeral; at which the consul's speech and the reading of Cæsar's will produced a violent revulsion of popular sentiment against the self-styled "Liberators." The assassins withdrew hastily from Rome, where Antony, who could produce authority for everything he chose to do from Cæsar's papers, genuine or forged, was master of the situation. The ablest soldier among the conspirators, Decimus Brutus, took possession of Cisalpine Gaul, which Cæsar had assigned to him; the military position was extremely uncertain, and negotiations continued to pass between the republican chiefs and Antony.

Young Octavian appeared on the scene, self-contained and inscrutable, but of an adamantine resolution, claiming to be his dead uncle's representative, and as his heir discharging faithfully all the provisions of the will; ready to make terms, but only his own terms, with either party, holding the balance in his own hands.

Antony began to fear an active rival, the liberators a remorseless enemy while the young man would commit himself to neither. The legions that were in Italy seemed likely to transfer their allegiance to the young Octavian.

Decimus Brutus was in possession of his province. Lepidus, a most ineffective person, was in possession of the old Transalpine Province. The dictator had assigned Macedon and Syria to two of the most prominent among the conspirators, Marcus Brutus (85-42) and Gaius Cassius; who left Italy to take possession and raise troops for the coming contest, in the autumn. Antony claimed the three provinces for himself, his brother and his fellow consul Dolabella, whom he had bought.



THIRD OF THE TRIUMVIRS

At the time of Cæsar's death M. Æmilius Lepidus was commanding a proconsular army, which, more than his own character, obtained for him the position of triumvir with Octavian and Antony.

Vatican; photo, Anderson

In the autumn, then, Antony was trying to vanquish Decimus Brutus, whom he besieged in Mutina. Cicero, who had known nothing of the conspiracy but approved it as an accomplished fact, was left to lead the party of opposition to Antony; he conceived his own influence to be supreme with Octavian, and he now attacked Antony in the famous series of orations known as the Philippics. Antony was declared a public enemy; Octavian joined the new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, old officers of his uncle, and now the official commanders of the government forces. In the early months of 43 Antony was driven out of Cisalpine into Transalpine Gaul. But both the consuls were killed in the fighting; Antony persuaded Lepidus and his legions to join him, and the pair contrived to come to terms secretly with Octavian.

Octavian with his legions marched to Rome and at the age of twenty claimed the consulship, having none to say him nay. Then he summoned the assassins of Cæsar to stand trial. They were, of course, condemned to death by default. While the governors of Spain and Farther Gaul were at last declaring themselves supporters, Antony, Octavian and Lepidus met at Bononia (Bologna) and constituted themselves (officially by decree of the Senate) Triumvirs for the establishment of the Republic, the term which always stood for the Roman state. A part of their program was a proscription, for the thoroughness of which Sulla had set the precedent, with no mercy and more malice than policy in it. The most distinguished of their victims—whom Octavian did not think it worth while to protect from the venomous, if natural, hatred of Antony—was Cicero. Then the triumvirs appropriated their respective shares of the West, though with very little regard for Lepidus, and prepared for the decisive struggle in the East.

No heavy engagements took place before the two battles on the plain near Philippi in Macedonia, fought with an interval of some three weeks in the late autumn of 42.

The victors, Antony and Octavian, parted the empire between them, for Lepidus did not count. In effect Antony took the East and Octavian the West, though in fact they did find an unexpected rival in Sextus Pompeius, who, having held a command in the enemy's fleet, acquired naval supremacy in the Mediterranean.

While Octavian returned to Italy, Antony proceeded through Greece and Asia Minor, mainly for the purpose of extorting money from the provincials. At Tarsus in Cilicia, about the mid-summer of 41, he met the queen of Egypt, Cleopatra, and from that time was utterly enslaved by her fascinations.

The East, in fact, demanded vigor; for

a Roman officer, Labienus, joined the Parthian king Pacorus; already in 41 Pacorus was overrunning Syria and Labienus Asia Minor. Antony roused himself, but was diverted by dissensions with Octavian in the West, leagued himself with Sextus Pompeius against his rival, and would have plunged into open war had not the death of his wife Fluvia provided an opportunity for a hollow reconciliation at Brundusium, when he married Octavian's sister Octavia. The deserted Sextus demonstrated his effective power by a naval blockade of Italy, now mainly dependent on imports for its corn supplies, whereby he forced the triumvirs to admit him to partnership, receiving as his share Sardinia, Sicily and Achæa (39).

Antony lingered at Athens with his new wife before returning to Cleopatra. The Parthian war had been entrusted to a soldier whose abilities had raised him from the ranks, Ventidius Bassus. In this year (39) he routed and captured Labienus, and drove the Parthian forces over the Euphrates, and in 38 repeated his success against Pacorus, who fell in the battle.

Octavian was preparing for a struggle with Sextus; but in 37 his relations with his brother-in-law were still amicable, and the triumvirate was renewed without other authority than that of the triumvirs themselves. Now, however, Antony tired of Octavia and returned to his Egyptian mistress, who never again lost her fatal hold on him. In 36 he flung himself into a new Parthian campaign to recover the standards lost seventeen years before at Carrhæ; but instead of achieving a triumph, narrowly escaped destruction by a hasty retreat. His behavior in Egypt warranted the growing belief that he was dreaming of making himself King of the World, with Cleopatra as his consort.

On his return to Rome after Philippi, Octavian had been forced to satisfy his veterans by great confiscations of land wherewith to reward them, according to promise. Advantage of the intense and justifiable resentment thus aroused in Italy was taken by Antony's brother Lucius; as consul he attempted to overthrow Octavian by armed force, but was compelled, mainly by the abilities of Agrippa (63 B.C.-A.D. 12), formerly the comrade and now the right-hand man of Octavian, to abandon the contest in 40 and retire from Italy. This was the occasion of the breach between the triumvirs, ended by the pact of Brundusium in 39; which set Octavian comparatively free for the task of reorganizing the West.

But Sextus, master of the seas, was an embarrassment, and the first attempts to challenge his power failed completely. The invaluable Agrippa came to the rescue. Only in 36, when he had organized and trained new fleets,

OCTAVIAN'S MOST TRUSTED MINISTER

Born of undistinguished parentage, M. Vipsanius Agrippa was a student friend of Octavian and afterwards became his right-hand man, equally successful as general, admiral, foreign administrator and director of public works. This bust conveys an excellent impression of his stern, blunt character.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari

was the naval campaign inaugurated. Sextus, after a defeat by Agrippa and a victory over Octavian, was crushed by the former at Naulochus, and, falling later into the hands of lieutenants of Antony, who had held aloof, was put to death. The third triumvir, Lepidus, then tried to assert himself, but submitted when his troops deserted to Octavian.

Friction, complaints and counter-complaints, popular uneasiness and suspicion of Antony's designs grew rapidly, and reached a climax in 32, when Antony insulted Cæsar by openly repudiating his marriage with the blameless Octavia, who had borne with his flagrant infidelity and done her best to smooth matters between her husband and her brother. Octavian's time had come. Rome declared war.

At last Antony roused himself, and repaired to Greece, of which he had retained possession. But his design of invading Italy was rendered futile by Agrippa's fleet. Octavian landed with troops in Epirus, but he knew that as a general he was no match for Antony, and through the winter both sides played a waiting game which was all in favor of Octavian. Antony could trust the allegiance of neither his officers nor his men.

He had, however, collected a great fleet; and at midsummer (31) he decided to abandon his army and retreat with his ships. Having made all his preparations secretly, he embarked with Cleopatra at the end of August, and the whole fleet sailed away; but it was overtaken by Agrippa and forced to engage off Actinum on September 2. The issue was still doubtful, when Cleopatra with sixty ships broke away in full flight for Egypt. Antony deserted the battle and followed the magnet. The rest of the fleet fought on desperately, till every ship was burned, sunk or captured. The army which had been left behind went over en masse to Octavian.

The battle of Actium was decisive. When in July (30 B.C.) Octavian appeared before Pelusium with his fleet, Pelusium promptly surrendered. Antony made one despairing effort: at the head of a body of horse he fell upon and routed a body of his enemy's troops. But the whole fleet at Alexandria went over; resistance was an obvious absurdity; the false rumor had been circulated that Cleopatra was dead, so Antony committed suicide, surviving only long enough to die in the arms of the repentant queen. From Octavian she soon learned that she had nothing to hope but shame; and his emissaries only found, as he had feared, that she had followed her lover to death.

Octavian stood alone, undisputed and indisputable lord of the civilized world.

THE FABRIC OF THE ROMAN STATE

HOW THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC WAS BUILT UP THROUGH CENTURIES OF EXPERIMENT AND ADAPTATION

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THE Romans held firmly by the principle that no valid resolution could be taken except by an assembly duly marshalled by its lawful convener: there might be a "gathering" (*conventio, contio*) summoned in order to hear proclamations, or even the discussion of public policies by those whom the chairman permitted to speak. But before the people was called upon to express its will this gathering was formally dissolved and its members were grouped in accordance with some definite principle of arrangement. Of such assemblies there were three forms: *comitia curiata, comitia centuriata* and *comitia tributa,* distinguished by the principle of grouping by *curiae,* centuries or tribes.

The first of these was the original form of the Roman popular assembly, which Roman conservatism retained down to the age of Caesar and Cicero, although it had been stripped of all important functions at a very early period. Of the groups which composed it, the curiae, little can be said with certainty. All we can say is that the curia represents the oldest form of grouping common to the Romans and their Latin kinsfolk. What we know of the functions assigned to the primitive assembly rests upon the inferences which may be drawn from the formalities which it observed in historical times, when the thirty curiae were represented by thirty lictors.

One of these is of special importance. The Roman magistrate was elected, we shall find, by the quasi-military assembly of the centuries, but this did not suffice to invest him with the *imperium,* the authority derived from the people in virtue of which he exercised command in war, administered justice in peace and transmitted his office to his successor. For this purpose the assembly of the curiae was summoned, and a "law concerning the imperium" was solemnly passed.

In addition, the assembly of the curiae met under the presidency of the Pontifex Maximus to represent the community in its religious capacity, whether for the consecration of those appointed to the greater priesthoods (*rex* and *flamines*) or for the purpose of giving assent to those acts which, like the adoption of one paterfamilias by another, or the making of a will in the ancient form, might affect the maintenance of family rites.

If we are to believe Roman traditions, this assembly was shorn of its powers as early as the regal period. The name of Servius Tullius is associated with the institution of the *census,* or mustering of the host, followed by a ceremony of purification (*lustrum*), which was, perhaps, first performed at irregular intervals, but during the later Republican period (until civil war and the reforms of Sulla intervened) took place every five years. At the census each citizen made a declaration of his age and of the property (at first only the lands) which he possessed, and in accordance therewith he was placed in a *centuria;* the *centuriae* were then grouped in classes graduated according to property, and voted as units in a new assembly, which henceforth became the chief organ for the expression of the people's will.

Now, the assembly was an army, definitely recognized as such. It might not meet within the city because, as one authority tells us, "the command of an army must be exercised outside the city." It is called by the antiquarian, Varro,

exercitus urbanus—the city's army. It was summoned by the blast of the trumpet, and red flags were hoisted on the Capitol and on the Janiculum when it met, and struck if a sudden attack was threatened by a foreign foe. The "elders" were kept apart from the "juniors," who formed the active army as distinct from the reserve. And the property qualifications were primarily intended to secure that each individual should be able to provide his own equipment in an array of battle comparable with the "hoplite phalanx" of the Greek communities.

No doubt in the most primitive form of the assembly it was the provision of the heavier or the lighter equipment which determined the voting power of the citizen. In historical times the classes, five in number, were distinguished by money qualifications. On the other hand, the tactical disposition implied in our accounts is that of the solid phalanx, which was abandoned by the Romans in the Samnite wars, and we are bound to admit that the nation in arms was organized for political purposes not later (and doubtless earlier) than the fourth century.

It no doubt served as a muster-roll, but it was primarily a voting group, and thus even the *proletarii* who were unable to take their place in the ranks of the citizen army had their "century," though it was rarely, if ever, called upon to cast its vote.

Of the primitive council of elders we know nothing in detail. It was a fundamental principle with the Romans that before taking action those who exercised authority in state or household should "take counsel" with a body of advisers. The Senate is the supreme example of such an advisory body, and the Roman theory was that the head of the state formed it by free choice of "the best men." Thus legend said that Romulus had "chosen" the first patres to form his Senate, and throughout Roman history the revision of the roll of Senators was called a "choosing" (*lectio*). This choice became limited by constitutional usage, but the power of rejecting an officially qualified candidate on the ground of personal unfitness remained unchallenged in its exercise by the magistrates to whom the duty of drawing up the list was assigned. The Senate's power rested on no legislative enactment, but was the most conspicuous example of respect for "the custom of the ancestors" which Rome could show. Its resolutions possessed the highest degree of *auctoritas* (authority), and that name was given to the act by which it gave its sanction to the laws passed by the people as well as to the election of magistrates and, according to tradition, to that of the king himself. About the legends which cluster round the transition from kingship to republican government we need not here speak.

If the constitutional lawyers spoke truly, the familiar title of the chief magistrates of Rome, *consul,* was not the earliest in use. *Praetor,* the "leader" in war, was, we are told, the earliest title employed, and it has parallels in the Latin cities. The most remarkable feature of the chief magistracy at Rome is, of course, its duality, and, so far as we can judge, the Romans here led the way.

With the institution of the consulship went the introduction of the principle of "collegiality," which played so important a part in the Roman political system. The Romans did not attain to the idea of official boards, making their decisions by the vote of a majority, which seems so natural to us. When the Roman was entrusted with office, he might be given authority to issue commands or prohibitions to those inferior to himself in the hierarchy, but officials of equal rank possessed equal powers, and each could paralyse the action of his "colleague."

Whether by design or not, this principle served to limit the tremendous power placed in the hands of the magistrate under the name of *imperium.* Not only did this cover the whole field of public activity, since the magistrate was in theory the supreme commander of armies in the field, the arbiter of law at home, the representative of the state in its relation with the gods and the controller of civic administration, but it was reinforced by the right of *coercitio*—that of enforcing submission to his decrees by the threat of pains and penalties.

The limitation of the tenure of office to a single year, and the check imposed upon each magistrate by the existence of a colleague with equal authority, were not deemed sufficient to protect the citizen from the abuse of magisterial power.

We know that the right of appeal (*provocatio*) to the judgment of the assembled people, traditionally ascribed to a law of the first year of the Republic, was secured by the plebs through its recognition in the decemviral code.

But though a law was passed on the fall of the decemvirs threatening dire penalties against anyone who should again set up "a magistracy without appeal," it is by no means clear that there was a really effective sanction which could be applied to the magistrate who refused to respect the citizen's right. We are told that the first law guaranteeing the appeal was passed in 300 B.C., and that even then the sanction merely consisted in the enactment that if a magistrate should override the demand for trial before the people, it should be deemed "an infamous deed," and that three laws passed by three members of the family of the Porcii (one of them, no doubt, Cato the elder) in the second century B.C. furnished the first adequate security.

On the other hand, the perilous position in which Rome stood in the early years of the Republic led to the suspension of the collegiate magistracy and the institution, in moments of crisis, of a single dictatory who had under his command a "master of horsemen" and for six months enjoyed the unlimited imperium.

Rome's habit of turning old institutions to new ends is illustrated by the history of this office. Probably the earliest dictators were appointed to exercise military command when Rome was threatened with grave external danger; then we find them set up when civil strife threatened to disrupt the fabric of the state; the great example of this was the appointment of Hortensius in 287 B.C. to bring to a close the long struggle for full recognition of the validity of the resolutions of the plebs.

In the course of the following century there had been scarcely any examples of the "emergency" dictatorship with general powers; but dictatorships with special and limited function (almost a contradiction in terms) were established.

At the end of the Hannibalic war, however, this practice was dropped. More than a century later it was revived in an entirely new form by Sulla, who enjoyed special powers of "revising the constitution" which apparently were not restricted in time; and this formed a precedent for Caesar, who went a step farther, and received the dictatorship first for ten years and then for life.

To the early days of the Republic is ascribed the increase in the number of "tribes" in the sense of territorial divisions of the lands of Rome; and a third assembly of the *populus,* based on the tribe in which the citizen and his property were registered, came into existence; it is first mentioned in 357 B.C. The *comitia tributa,* as they were called, acquired a variety of powers, including a right to hear appeals against fines.

For a civilized state an administrative system worked by officials with specialized functions is needed but Rome was slow to take the first steps in this direction. In historical times the moneys of the state, lodged in its treasury in the vaults of the temple of Saturn, were kept in the custody of *quaestores;* but their name ("trackers") shows that this was not their primary function.

One extremely interesting document, preserved to us in Varro's "On the Latin Language," which professes to give an account of a capital trial before the people, shows that such trials were conducted, not by the supreme magistrate, but by his quaestor, who "borrowed auspices" from him and summoned the assembly to judgement.

In cases where the safety of the state was at stake, special commissioners of treason (*duoviri perduellionis*) were appointed. The procedure in such trials is described by Livy in the case of Horatius.

We find in the institutions just described the rudiments of a system of criminal jurisdiction. In the course of the fifth century an important step was taken with the object of transferring certain administrative functions from the consuls to officials not invested with imperium, thus leaving the supreme magistrates free for waging the almost continuous warfare in which the Republic was engaged. These were the censors, who were first appointed, according to Livy, in 443 B.C.

As their name shows, the primary duty of the censors was the holding of the census. Now, the census proper was a process of registration. In order to de-

termine the liability of the individual citizen in respect to taxation and military service, the censors placed him in a tribe, which in the first instance (for membership was hereditary) would naturally be that in which his land lay, and in this he paid his *tributum,* or war-levy, and also in a *century,* which was at once a muster-roll and a voting unit.

It was naturally part of the censors' duty to draw up the list of *equites* and to review the corps; and this may have suggested the important innovation, ascribed to a tribune Ovinius, by which the revision of the Senatorial roll was entrusted to the censors—the date is uncertain, but must have been earlier than 312 B.C. This placed in their hands a disciplinary power in the exercise of which they were not held to account by any higher authority, and were not called upon to use judicial procedure.

Such a power, however, could not be exercised arbitrarily, and the result was in time to set up a code of civil honor, the breach of which was punished by exclusion from the Senate; and the effects were far-reaching, since the customary rules laid down by the censors were copied by the magistrates presiding in the civil courts, and those who broke them incurred *infamia,* which carried with it certain civic disabilities. The disciplinary powers of the censors were reinforced by the "care of morals" which was incumbent upon them as the "purifiers" of the host, whose office terminated with the ceremony of the *lustrum.*

Moreover, the censors were entrusted with the management of properties of the state—lands, mining rights, fisheries, and so forth—and were empowered to enter into contracts on its behalf; and it was their duty to contract for the performance of public works.

During the acute phase of the struggle of the orders no progress was made with the elaboration of the machinery of government; but in 366 B.C., when the great issue of the admission of plebeians to the consulship was finally decided, a creation of new offices took place which Livy treats as a compromise. A third praetor (who never received the title of consul) was set up "to administer law as between citizens," and two new aediles were added to the "wardens of the plebs."

Part of the compromise was that these offices should be confined strictly to patricians; but it was not long before the praetorship was thrown open to the plebs, and the *curule* aediles, as they were called, were taken from the ranks of patricians and plebeians in alternate years. The duties of these officers were connected with the care of public buildings, the maintenance of order and cleanliness in streets and public places, the supervision of the market and the celebration of public games; and they were given the right to levy fines, against which, if they exceeded a certain sum, an appeal lay to the *comitia tributa.*

With the constitutional settlement of 287 B.C. the fabric of the Roman state was practically completed; fresh magistracies were sparingly created, and there was but little constitutional change by legislative enactment. In 242 B.C. a fourth praetor was appointed to "administer law as between foreigners," who were flocking to Rome as her commercial importance increased; the following year saw the last additions to the number of tribes, which was made up to thirty-five; and at some date which was not earlier than this an alteration in the method of voting in the assembly of centuries was made, by which tribes as well as centuries were recognized in the comitia centuriata.

Most changes which took place in the Roman political system were not so much in the form of institutions as in their spirit and working. First and foremost, it became necessary for Rome to pursue a fixed and continuous policy, such as no succession of annual magistrates could conceive or carry out; and the direction of this policy naturally fell into the hands of the Senate, which, being itself a body of ex-magistrates, was the incarnation of all Rome's experience in government.

The prescriptive rights of ex-officials to be placed on the roll became established by custom. The Senate represented Roman officialdom; and the official class grew into an official caste. The equality of rights secured in 287 B.C. was no guarantee of equal opportunities; and office-holding tended to concentrate itself in a limited number of families, upon whom the prizes of public life were constantly bestowed.

This new aristocracy was known as *nobilitas.* On the precise significance of this term there has been dispute, and it

has been maintained that only the descendants of one who had held the consulship were entitled to style themselves *nobiles;* but it seems best to believe that the tenure of one of the *curule* offices (aedileship, praetorship or consulship) sufficed to make a man and his descendants "noble" in the technical sense. Certainly it conferred what was apparently the outward mark of nobilitas, namely, the *jus imaginum,* or the right to have the waxen masks of ancestors who had held public office carried in funeral processions. The old opposition between patrician and plebeian gave way to that between the nobiles and the "new man."

Not only was entrance to the charmed circle of the new oligarchy carefully guarded, but, so far as possible, the career of the individual was made to conform to type, and the acquisition of exceptional powers or influence prevented. Livy mentions as a democratic measure the proposal of a tribune made in 342 B.C. that no magistracy might be held a second time until ten years had elapsed; but if this rule was really laid down so early, it was not observed in practice. However, the censorship was only once held for a second time. The rule of the ten-year interval had to be suspended during the Hannibalic war; but it was revived after the danger had passed.

During the period of oligarchical government the order of the several magistrates, and the rules as to the age of candidates, for a long time a matter of custom, also became fixed. The career of a Roman statesman began with the quaestorship, which was a stepping-stone to the higher offices; but it would have been impossible to require the holding of both aedileship and praetorship as a necessary qualification for the consulship, if the supply of candidates was to be maintained. There was, however, a generally observed rule that a full year's interval should elapse between the holding of one office and the next, the object of which was to secure that opportunity should be given for calling to account one who had been guilty of maladministration.

In 180 B.C. a Lex Annalis was passed by one Villius, the object of which was to determine age-limits for the various magistracies; and the minimum ages were so fixed that a two-year interval elapsed between each step in the office-holder's career. It would seem that the quaestorship might be held at 27, the aedileship or praetorship at 33, the consulship at 36; but these conditions must have been altered at a later date, since in the time of Cicero the age-limit for the consulship was 43.

The measures taken with regard to the government of the overseas dependencies of Rome are of still greater importance. The defeat of Carthage in the First Punic War brought the islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica under Roman rule. It was impossible to provide for their administration without increasing the number of those qualified to exercise imperium, and the college of praetors was accordingly increased by two, one for Sicily and the other for the remaining islands. In the Second Punic War Rome was forced to include Spain in her dominions, and the peninsula was divided into two districts, to administer which two further praetors were created. These commands were termed *provinciae,* a name which had the general sense of "department," and was so applied to the spheres of activity assigned to the city magistrates.

In the course of the half century which followed there were no further annexations, although Rome waged two successful wars, one against the Macedonian kingdom and one against the Seleucid Empire of Antiochus the Great; nor was any attempt made to establish a land connexion between Spain and Italy. It would seem that the senatorial oligarchy was actuated in this anti-imperialistic policy by two motives—jealousy of the power of military governors over whom it was difficult to exercise any effective control, and dislike of the expansion of the nobilitas which would result if the number of high offices continued to increase.

Nevertheless, there were precedents for prolonging the command of a general when the military situation required it and there is no doubt that the Senate gradually acquired the right of deciding whether a governor should be recalled or continued in command.

And the result of this was that by using prorogatio it was possible to avoid an increase in the number of magistrates. In the course of the second century this be-

came an established practice; and, in fact, after 146 B.C., when the process of annexation recommenced with the subjugation of Carthage and the formation of a province of Africa, the pro-magistracy ceased to be regarded as in any sense an emergency measure and became a recognized feature of the constitution.

Manifestly, the system thus set up by the Senatorial oligarchy in order to reconcile the needs of a growing empire with the preservation of its own ascendancy had disadvantages. The notion of a hierarchy of trained public servants was foreign to the Roman mind; it was assumed that the Senator was naturally endowed with the gifts of a military commander and civil administrator in one. In fact, his experience of government was gained by a year's service as quaestor in charge of the finances of a province at the outset of his career, and with this equipment he was called upon, whether as praetor or consul, to undertake for brief periods the administration of territories and the government of nations with whose problems he was not in the least conversant.

Then during the governor's terms of office it was only too probable that his chief objects would be the amassing of wealth by force or fraud, and the gaining of sufficient military success to justify him in claiming the coveted honor of a triumph. Moreover, he had no trained staff of assistants.

When a newly conquered territory was organized for the first time as a province, the Senate appointed special commissioners, usually ten in number, whose names may have been formally submitted to the people for confirmation; and it was in accordance with their advice that the commander was empowered to frame a provincial settlement and issue a law or charter which bore his name and regulated the methods of taxation, the arrangements for the trial of suits, and other matters concerning the relation of Rome to the communities included in the new province.

Once this was done, the Senate practically ceased to exercise control over the governors, who issued ordinances (*edicta*) supplementing the provincial charter, and were not obliged in such matters to conform to the practice of their predecessors, though no doubt they usually did so. The Senate did, however, vote the annual contingent of troops to be placed at the disposal of a governor, and also the supplies in cash and kind which it regarded as sufficient for his needs, and Polybius notes that it owed much of its influence to this control of the purse. Thus the administration of the outlying dependencies was left very largely to the discretion and good feeling of the individuals who were placed in charge of them.

IDEAL ROMAN MAGISTRATE

The dignified appearance of the magistrates as they stepped forward, clad in the stately Roman toga, to address the comitia may be gathered from this life-size statue of late Republican times.

From Poulsen, 'Greek & Roman Portraits,' Clarendon Press

Created as a revolutionary institution for protecting the individual against arbitrary rule, the tribunate of the middle Republic became a pliant tool in the hands of the Senate; for if one of the higher magistrates ventured on a course

of action which did not commend itself to the ruling oligarchy, the Senate could be sure of finding amongst the ten tribunes of the year one or more who would consent to exercise the power of *intercessio,* and defeat the policy proposed.

Above all things, the Senate was the director of Rome's foreign policy and the representative of the people in international relations. It received in audience the envoys of foreign powers, who were as a matter of course brought into the council chamber by the consuls in order that they might "make a statement" of their case, and this was regularly followed by a resolution tendering advice to the magistrate as to his conduct of the negotiation. It was natural, therefore, that the Senate should be coupled with the people as embodying the sovereign power of the Roman state, but the famous phrase *Senatus Populusque Romanus,* was late in taking final shape; in a document of the early second century B.C. the people is mentioned first.

It was only natural that a body upon whose shoulders the responsibility for Rome's policy practically rested should tend to assume privileges of which the sanction was custom, not positive law. Thus the Senate took to itself the power of dispensing individuals from the requirements of laws and (what was more important) that of quashing laws unconstitutionally passed; and as it came to be regarded as responsible for the maintenance of public order in Italy it gradually encroached on the sphere of criminal jurisdiction.

Where powers so great were exercised it was proper that strict forms of procedure be observed. Thus a body of usage was gradually formed corresponding with the standing orders of modern deliberative assemblies. The right of convening the Senate was restricted to the magistrates of the people (excluding the censors) and to the tribunes. And the Senate could only pass a valid decree (*senatus consultum*) in response to a definite question formally submitted by the convener. The decree was subject to the tribune's veto, and if this were exercised it ranked merely as an *auctoritas* —a recommendation recorded in the minutes.

Rome in the middle Republic thus evolved an organ of government which conducted its deliberations with dignity and order, and which gave Roman policy the continuous and long predetermined direction, free from the disturbing influences of party strife, which helped to gather the fruits of the victories won by the valor of her citizen armies. It cannot be said, however, that the Senate was alive to the wider issues which were raised when Rome became supreme, first in Italy and then in the Mediterranean world, though no doubt the rapid growth of her empire made it inevitable for the Senate to have recourse to makeshifts and to take the line of least resistance. Still, it is necessary to indicate what were the problems to be solved.

First, despite the fact that the sovereignty of the people was an admitted principle of the constitution, the archaic methods by which it continued to find expression remained in use until they were swept away by the monarchical system of the Emperors. The Romans were proud of their well-drilled Assembly, but this Assembly, as Roman citizenship spread, ceased in any way to represent effectively the Roman people. The system of the group-vote made the tribe the counterpart of the modern constituency for electoral purposes.

But the list of tribes was closed in 241 B.C., and communities or individuals who received the franchise after that date must perforce be enrolled in one of those already existing. Thus a "tribe" became, territorially speaking, a scattered group of communities (with a nucleus not far from Rome), while for voting purposes, since membership was hereditary, a number of its members were not resident in any of its areas; and it must have been rare indeed for out-voters to make their way to Rome for the exercise of the suffrage.

As regards local self-government the world does, indeed, owe a debt to the Romans, since in the closing century of the Republic and the earlier period of the Empire a municipal system was called into being. But in the days of the Senate's ascendancy Rome had not yet been forced to tackle this question. The *municipia* of half-citizens, which gradually attained to full Roman rights, showed some variety in their institutions; but the practice was to vest the powers of the magistracy in a board of four.

Thus the way was being paved for the extension of the Roman type of urban government to the whole of Italy, without the active intervention of the central authority. The Senate, in fact, was blind to the conception of a unified and Romanized Italy, and after 180 B.C. no further avenues to incorporation in the Roman state were opened. The bulk of the Italian communities remained allies (*socii*) of Rome, but this honorable title concealed a variety of status. A few favored communities, such as the ancient Latin towns of Tibur and Praeneste, enjoyed, it is true, an "equal treaty" with Rome; but far the greater number of Italian towns were bound to Rome by treaties which contained a clause expressly reserving suzerainty to Rome.

Finally, we must consider the extra-Italian possessions of Rome. Here, too, we find much variety of status. On coming into contact with the Greek world, Rome became acquainted with more elastic relationships between states, monarchical or self-governed, than those which had become stereotyped in Italy. Alliances for a term of years, treaties of "friendship," and so forth, were common in the Hellenistic sphere, and Rome had to adapt her methods to the habits of kings and peoples. But there was a gradual tightening of the bonds, and though the title *socii* might be in use, it became a mere term of courtesy for "subjects."

Few were the cities which enjoyed equal treaty rights with Rome, such as Rhodes, Gades (Cadiz), Messana (Messina), and Massilia (Marseilles). In these the Roman magistrate exercised no imperium and the local laws were administered by local authority. No permanent taxation or tribute was levied upon them, but a specific service might be required. Corn for the Roman armies might be requisitioned, but at a fixed price.

A less highly favored, but more numerous class was that of the free states (*liberae civitates*), which enjoyed privileges very similiar in substance to those of the allied communities, but held them only on sufferance by a revocable grant.

The potentates who were drawn into relation with Rome were treated in a similiar spirit, though the tightening of the reins was more gradual. "Friendship and alliance" (in the Greek form) was the starting-point of a relationship in which the influence of Rome as the predominant partner grew in strength until the kingdom became a protectorate. This system of client principalities developed rapidly in the period of the great conquest, but in the earlier republican period the Romans had not yet formed the conception of a world empire.

SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

HOW THE CITIZENS OF ROME AND THE ITALIANS OF TOWN AND COUNTRY FARED IN PRE-IMPERIAL TIMES

F. H. MARSHALL

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THOUGH this study mainly concerns social life in Italy and Rome in the century which falls between the time of the Gracchi (tribunes in 133, 123 and 122 B.C.) and the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), it is impossible to leave out of account the social development of Italy in the preceding centuries.

It is convenient to make the shattering experiences of the Hannibalic war a dividing line, and to trace the progress of Roman social conditions before and after that great war. It is not a far-fetched comparison to find in the changes which ensued in Italy after the war with Hannibal an analogy to the changes which have taken place in England and other countries after the Great War.

Before, as after, the Hannibalic war the basis of the Roman state was the household, and the rule of its head, the paterfamilias, over its members was absolute. It was from the household that the clans (gentes) were derived; these bore the names of the oldest families, such as the Aemilii and Claudii, and from these clans the Rustic Tribes derived their names. Early Rome must, therefore, be regarded as consisting of a number of clans, first settled on the Palatine and then spreading gradually over the adjacent hills. Their political organization was based on the family. The king was the father of the community, and was elected by that community for life. Further, the groups of families or clans were distributed in wards, known as curiae, which composed the popular assembly, and the consent of that assembly was necessary before the king could change the laws.

Besides the popular assembly there was a Senate chosen by the king to act as a kind of state council, but from the first the real sovereignty lay with the people, the original clan settlers. The army was also organized on a clan basis. Thus the main rights and duties of these original clan members, who came to form the patricians, were the appointment of a king, the ratification of the laws, and service in the army. To this original state organization the Romans clung with great tenacity, and this explains the weight attached by men of the old school, like Cato the Censor, to the "customs of our ancestors," the "mos majorum."

From the economic standpoint, each clan may be pictured as possessing its own land, working it, and dividing the produce amongst the various families. But several causes tended to modify this original arrangement. As the result of successful warfare the community gained fresh lands, and the king would reward prominent individuals with grants from the land thus won, nominally as a loan which could in theory be recalled; pastoral land also was let out for grazing purposes on payment of a rent called "scriptura." Rome and its outlying districts were thus divided into a number of small farms and pasture lands, in part used jointly by members of a clan, in part by individual families, with the result that, at the time of the reorganization known as the Servian Constitution, military service became based on the possession of land, and taxation was adjusted accordingly. From this reform sprang the chief popular assembly, the Comitia Centuriata.

Hitherto only the full Roman citizens, the patricians, have been considered. Side by side with them, however, there grew up a class destined to play a most important part in Roman history, the plebeians. Gradually they acquired land, and in many instances amassed wealth,

but politically they were dependent on the protection of the original patrician citizens, and were thus known as clients. As time went on they were merged by degrees in the great class of plebeians.

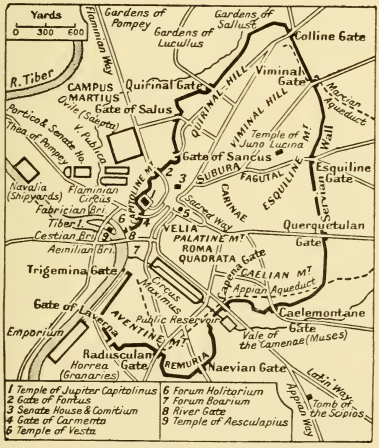
The political and economic conditions of the earliest Roman community, as thus outlined, contain the germs of the chief social problems which were to vex the Roman state in the course of its development. There is the problem of the social position of those outside the patrician circle, and the problem of the land. Though the former was solved under the Republic, the latter was found incapable of solution.

Nor did the overthrow of the monarchy change the essential features of Roman life. The king's powers passed into the hands of two annually elected consuls, and this original imperium was gradually put more and more into commission, though the full powers were occasionally revived for a period of six months by the creation of a dictator. The chief popular assembly, the Comitia Centuriata, elected the consuls and other magistrates, and adopted or rejected laws, while the Senate for its part confirmed or threw out these resolutions.

Although the character of the assembly changed in so far as the plebeians, who had assisted in the revolution, gained the right of voting, this gain did not satisfy them, for they coveted official posts. On the other hand, the patricians held tightly to their privileges, and became more grasping in other directions. They drew into their hands most of the public lands acquired in the course of ever-extending conquests, and annexed most of the grazing lands without paying the state its dues, while admitting a few of the richer plebeians to share their spoils. These growing estates began to be worked by the labor of slaves captured in war.

Such were the grievances—exclusion from office, a harsh law of debt, and the oppression of the small farmer—which led to the fierce struggles between the patricians and the plebeians, struggles which continued till the equalization of the orders in 287 B.C. The famous Tribunate of the Plebs was created to match two annually elected plebeian officials against the two patrician consuls, but the office in the course of time entirely changed its character, and was ultimately turned by the aristocracy into a weapon to suit its own ends.

By the period immediately preceding the Hannibalic war the social gulf between patricians and plebeians was practically bridged over, for the wealthier plebeians had obtained access to all official posts. On the other hand, despite repeated legislative enactments, the agrarian question remained as acute as ever. Wealth had grown with the conquest of most of Italy, and the small farmer was still fighting for existence against the competition of large estates, now to a great extent worked by slave labor for the benefit of wealthy capitalists. Nominally, the popular assemblies still had control of politics, and even interfered occasionally in militar affairs, but in reality the difficulties of at-



PLAN OF REPUBLICAN ROME

From the original Roma Quadrata of Romulus, Rome grew by the sixth century B.C. to the area enclosed within the Servian wall, traced in black above. Thereafter it spread, though quite unsystematically, over the Campus Martius to the Tiber.

tendance, owing to the distance of most of the farms from Rome, made their powers largely ineffectual.

Already the Senate was beginning to draw the conduct of affairs into its hands, for its composition and permanence gave it great advantages. The censors had been directed by law to elect into it "the best from every rank," an instruction which in practice meant that they enrolled, as a rule, ex-magistrates. Thus the Senate became a life-body comprising the chief experience of the state, and this body, composed in the main of an aristocracy of wealth, gradually drew into its hands the control of legislation, by compelling magistrates to submit measures for its approval, by defining the extent of these magistrates' activity, both during their actual office and the period of its extension, and by controlling all public business of importance in war and finance. Such were the political and social conditions when Rome, towards the end of the third century B.C., had to carry on her life-and-death struggle with Carthage.

For an understanding of the social conditions of the Ciceronian age, with which we are primarily concerned, it is essential to indicate, however briefly, the changes in society following the mighty war with Carthage.

As a whole the aristocracy of wealth had emerged with enhanced credit from that struggle, and prominent families like the Cornelii and Valerii began to put forward a kind of hereditary claim to a magisterial and senatorial career. Proud of their external decorations, the gold ring, the tunic with the broad purple stripe, and their halls filled with waxen portraits of their ancestors, they regarded themselves as the heaven-sent rulers of the Roman state at home and abroad. Their influence extended, through the censorship, over the composition of the order next below them, the knights, and through the knights over the voting powers of the popular assembly.

The citizen body had suffered serious diminution through the ravages of the Hannibalic war, and this loss was not made up by admitting to the franchise the Latin and Italian allies. Indeed, many of the complaints which were to give rise to the Social War a century later date from this time—the unfair burdens placed upon the allies in war, their meager rewards, and their scant prospect of obtaining Roman citizenship. Those Italians who had sided with Hannibal, notably the Bruttians in the extreme south of the peninsula, were reduced to a condition of serfdom, and provided excellent material for prospective slave risings.

The acquisition of provinces raised entirely new problems. Our concern here is primarily with the social changes involved, but these cannot be separated from the economic. In the first place, Rome took over the Carthaginian system, which carried with it payment of tribute, chiefly in kind. In theory this tribute was to cover the cost of administration; in reality it too often served to enrich unscrupulous individuals. The governors had full military, administrative and judicial powers, and everything depended on their personal character.

Matters were even worse in the Eastern provinces, as these were gradually acquired by the Republic. The only remedy lay in the prosecution of the offender before a jury chosen from his own class, and a conviction could be secured only in the most flagrant instances. Ill-gotten gains are ill-spent, and it cannot be doubted that the provincial system, combined with the huge war indemnities exacted from Carthage, Antiochus of Asia and Perseus of Macedon contributed in large measure to the social changes now to be described.

Rome and Italy displayed after the Hannibalic war instructive post-war symptoms. Prominent amongst these are the worship paid to wealth, the dying-out of the middle classes, the growth of a city rabble, an increase of slave labor, a craving for amusements and luxury, an increased emancipation of women, the influx of oriental worships, and the marked importance of banking and money-lending. Not a few of these changes were due to the revolution which took place in Italian agriculture.

The small-holders who had formed the backbone of the armies which repelled Hannibal were squeezed out, and their farms merged in the capitalists' large estates, which were used principally for the purpose of gazing and for the production of wine and oil on a large scale. These estates were worked mainly by slaves, and became those "latifundia"

which, as the elder Pliny afterwards said, proved the ruin of Italy. The system was encouraged by the precarious tenure of state lands which offered no inducement to the lessee to sink much capital in improving the soil.

An important factor in producing social change was the decay of agriculture and the flocking of ruined farmers to Rome, but this was only one of many factors at work.

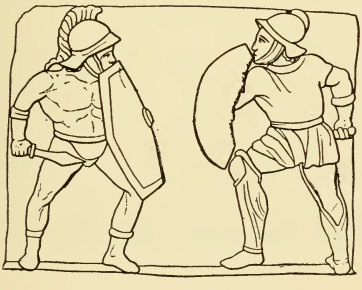
ROME, with the new sources of wealth already mentioned, became, like London, the money market of the world, and in it the great mercantile associations had their headquarters.

Immense opportunities existed for the capitalist in Rome. The bankers carried out all kinds of money-lending business, and had branches in all parts of the provinces. All contracts, state as well as private, were carried out through agents, whether bankers or associations of capitalists. The best-known example is that of the contracts entered into by the "publicans" for the collection of the provincial taxes, a practice fraught, it is true, with consequences of immeasurable evil to Roman society, but at the same time only a prominent example of the numerous mercantile activities of associations of Roman citizens. The instruments of all these associations were mainly slaves, and thus was bred a vast class of expert slaves, the forefathers of the upstart freedmen destined to bulk so largely in the society of Imperial Rome. Only a small portion of the free population would be absorbed by the trades necessary for a large city.

Probably no community has undergone so sudden a revolution in manners as that of Rome in the second century before Christ. We can but dimly picture to ourselves the indignation of a Cato by listening to the strictures of a survivor from the Victorian era upon present-day manners. Mommsen sums up the situation in a striking sentence. "If we can conceive of England with its lords, its squires, and above all its City, but with its freeholders and lessees converted into proletarians, and its laborers and sailors into slaves, we shall gain an approximate image of the population of the Italian peninsula in these days."

The ever-increasing gulf between rich and poor, the absence of a solid middle class, the gross abuses of power by the governing aristocracy and their incompetence when faced with external danger, were the factors which produced the revolution of the next century. The dangers were foreseen by statesmen, and a democratic party arose which sought to counteract the chief evils. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus tried to restore Italian agriculture by the creation of small-holdings, the encouragement of free labor, the founding of colonies both at home and oversea, and by the inclusion of non-citizens in these schemes. But such reforms embraced the undesirable features of the distribution of cheap corn to the proletariat and the raising of the capitalist class as a counterpoise to the aristocracy.

MARIUS created a standing and professional as opposed to a citizen army, and thereby gave ambitious generals the opportunity of winning independent and tyrannical power, such as that acquired by Sulla. The widening of the franchise as the result of the Social War increased the material for the exercise of bribery and intrigue at the elections. Sulla himself, as dictator, endeavored to give the aristocratic party



DUEL TO THE DEATH

There were several specific classes of gladiators. This Etruscan urn painting shows a 'mirmillo,' armed like the Gauls (left), matched with a 'Thrax,' armed after the Thracian fashion.

From 'I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche'

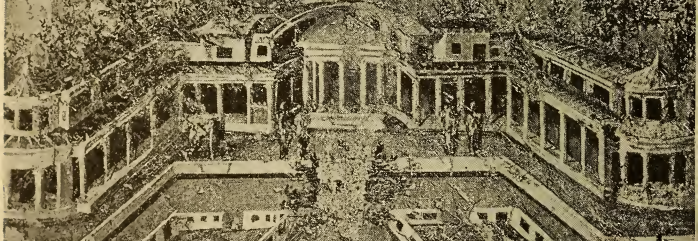
a new lease of life by his legislation, but only demonstrated its incompetence, facilitating the career of a Verres, the insolent triumph of a Spartacus, with his slaves and gladiators in Italy, and of the pirate hordes in the Mediterranean. The domination of a Pompey or a Caesar became inevitable.

We are thus brought to the period assigned for a more detailed study of Roman social life, and are in a position to understand its leading features. The seeds sown at the different epochs of the Republic have now produced full growth, and this is what makes a study of the social conditions of the Ciceronian age so exceptionally interesting.

A picture of social conditions in the Ciceronian age is best presented by delineating the character and pursuits of the chief classes of the population at Rome. The Senatorial order included both old families and those families which had more recently won their way to office. The latter were characteristically called "new men," and were looked down upon to some extent by members of old clans like the Aemilii and Cornelii. All alike, however, wore the Senatorial tunic with the broad purple stripe, and it is hardly surprising that these aristocrats—"best men," as they called themselves—found it hard to agree on any policy save that of clinging to their lucrative official posts and resisting democratic innovators. Hence Cicero's frequently uncomfortable position as a "new man" himself, and his futile policy of harmonizing the Senatorial and capitalistic orders.

What an unhappy family these aristocrats formed in the hour of crisis is vividly portrayed by Caesar in his grim description of the imaginary division of the spoils by Pompey's followers before the battle of Pharsalus. "All were occupied," he says, "in discussing their own prospective offices or pecuniary rewards, or in prosecuting their private enmities, and were absorbed, not in devising means to secure their victory, but in discussing the manner in which they ought to use that victory"—a not unfair picture of the mentality of the average aristocrat of Cicero's day.

In manners these aristocrats were cultivated and polite. Greek literature had greatly influenced the upper classes since the days of the Scipionic circle. The best type of aristocrat would be, in Cicero's phrase, "a man of the greatest common sense, good education, wide experience and also politeness, which, as



SUMPTUOUS COUNTRY VILLA OF A WEALTHY ROMAN

This wall painting from the sitting-room of Lucius Fronto's house at Pompeii gives the front view of a delightful country seat in Campania. In the center a round temple-pavilion with a cupola gives access to the atrium, and two-storeyed porticoes on the flanks contain a lawn with flower-beds; a spacious park stretches behind the villa.

From Rostovtzeff, in 'Jahrbuch der deutschen archaeologischen Instituts'

the Stoics most rightly think, is a virtue."

Nevertheless, in public life, particularly that connected with the Bar, which, apart from their administrative career, was the chief occupation of the abler men, a tone of personal abuse was fashionable—abuse far exceeding in bitterness anything which is allowed today. Cicero's speeches, for all their eloquence, do not give a favorable impression of Roman forensic oratory. Truth is suppressed and distorted, and full advantage is taken of the unsatisfactory composition of the jury.

If a few aristocrats of superior character lived in accordance with the Stoic idea, there is much evidence to show that the coarser side of Epicureanism appealed to a large and irresponsible section. Wealth and ease tempted many a younger member of the senatorial order to regard life as an opportunity for indulging in a round of pleasure.

BALLOTING IN THE COMITIA

The ballot was introduced in 139 B.C. for the election of magistrates, and this coin shows an elector dropping his voting tablet into the ballot-box.

British Museum

Below the senatorial order came the equestrian. This had passed through a strange transformation from the original cavalry group of the early Republic from which it derived its name. It had come to represent the banking classes at Rome. The qualification for admission to the order was the possession of a capital representing some £4,000, but such a sum gives no idea of the wealth of the average knight.

By reason of its wealth and wide business ramifications the class played an important part in Roman history, and in the last century of the Republic it had the championship of Cicero. Rising politicians sought the aid of the knights, because they could accommodate them with the loans necessary to pay for the giving of shows and the free distributions of grain indispensable for the bribing of electors. The equestrian banker would thus help a Caesar to the aedileship or a Cicero to build his town and country house, hire a body of gladiators as a commercial speculation, or lend money to impoverished Greek cities. Never has the interdependence of wealth and politics been better shown than in the first century before Christ.

The equestrian order occupied an important position as jurymen. Sulla had temporarily excluded them from the service, thereby reversing the law of Gaius Gracchus. By the Aurelian law of 70 B.C. a compromise was effected, by which one-third of the jurymen for criminal cases was drawn from the senatorial, and two-thirds from the equestrian order, though one of these two-thirds belonged to a special class of (apparently) a slightly lower capital rating. The social effect of this was to favor the business dealings of the capitalists and to enable them to squeeze the provincials very effectively.

For this they had full opportunity, thanks to the system of contracting for the collection of the tithes of Sicily and Asia Minor. The censors let out the contracts, and for these the associations of knights, known as publicans, paid a lump sum, recouping themselves in the provinces as best they might.

It requires little imagination to realize the disastrous effect of this system on public morality. Even a well-intentioned governor could not resist the depredations of the tax-gatherer when he was liable to be tried by a jury of men two-thirds of whom belonged to the class to which the tax-gatherer belonged.

In his speech of 56 B.C. "On the Consular Provinces," Cicero charges Gabinius "with having handed over the unhappy publicans to enslavement by Jews and Syrians, peoples themselves born to servitude." The truth is that Gabinius, who was no friend to the tax-farmers, tried to protect the provincials from their extortion. These passages give an instruc-

tive insight into the political wire-pulling which went on at Rome in connection with the farming of taxes, and reveal the hopeless plight of the provincials.

We now descend in the social scale to the mass of Roman citizens, the "plebs urbana," and consider their daily pursuits. These are much harder to determine than those of the senatorial and equestrian orders. The plebs included men engaged in a great variety of occupations, and care must be taken not to picture them as merely a base rabble interested in nothing except the selling of their votes and the enjoyment of cheap corn and amusements. They lived for the most part in blocks of tenement buildings called "islands."

Inscriptions record the occupations of many free tradesmen and artisans. Too much is heard about the bad qualities, and too little about the good, in the case of the mass of the poorer population, in which without doubt could be found a great many of the humbler virtues. A tombstone of the first century in the British Museum records in rude verse the mutual affection of a butcher from the Viminal Hill, named Aurelius Hermia, and his wife. The lines, unpolished as they are, form a pleasing contrast to those of a Catullus.

Undoubtedly, the lodging of the ordinary plebeian was a poor one, and these overcrowded "islanders" might well need the kindly offices of a "Good Goddess," whom an inscription shows they sometimes worshipped. They were exposed to constant dangers from fire and collapse, and Crassus speculated with profit in these crazy buildings. In compensation, the plebeian had the benefit of a mild climate, which encouraged him to live, like the modern Italian, a great deal in the open. Bread and fruit would serve his main needs, while the peasant who lived in the country had his supply of cheese, honey, vegetables and fruit. But in the aggregate the demands of the city population for grain involved a political problem of the first magnitude.

Gaius Gracchus included the selling of

INTERIOR OF A RETAIL PORK-BUTCHER'S SHOP

Numerous inscriptions, wall-paintings and reliefs survive to illustrate the life of the retail shopkeeper of the second and first centuries B.C. Here is a delightfully realistic interior of a pork-butcher's shop showing the butcher chopping a joint on a block precisely similar to those in use today, with his wife sitting opposite making up the books. Behind the butcher is a spare chopper and his steelyard with weight and scale pan, and on a bar along the shop hang several familiar joints.

British Museum (cast, from the original in Dresden Museum)

cheap corn in his political programme, and the maintenance of the corn supply was always prominent in the minds of politicians. Most of the corn was imported from Sicily, Sardinia and Africa, and thus another opportunity of fleecing the provincials was open to unscrupulous governors. The great Pompey in 57 B.C. sought the superintendence of the corn supply as likely to give him a power sufficient to counter-balance that of Caesar; and Caesar himself, when he became master of the Roman world, found 320,000 people in receipt of free corn. When it is remembered that this large population had votes, it will be readily understood that the dole became an instrument of bribery. Caesar made a drastic reduction in the number of free recipients, and cut them down to 150,000; Augustus, who took over the corn supply himself, fixed the number at 200,000. Rough wine was cheap and abundant, and the aqueducts, though these were greatly extended under the Empire, afforded a fair water supply.

As a whole the plebs urbana acquired a very bad reputation in the closing years of the Republic. The policing of the city was defective, and the old system under the aediles broke down completely. Elections were systematically blocked, and when they took place were conducted on a system of bribery naked and unashamed. Writing to Atticus in 54 B.C., Cicero says: "Follow me now to the Campus Martius. Canvassing is in full swing, and I will give you a token thereof. Interest was on July 15 raised from four per cent to eight per cent." Political trials, like that of Gabinius, who had taken huge bribes to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, were likewise marked by gross bribery of the jury. The period, in fact, sums up in their most accentuated form all the evils for which a study of Roman social life has prepared us.

It has been expressly noted that slaves took part in these disturbances, and it is time to consider them as an important factor in Roman life. They fall into two divisions, the city and the country slave. Of their numbers at Rome in this epoch only a vague guess can be made. If it is assumed that there was one slave to every two free persons, it is likely that there were over half a million in the city. The sources of supply were varied, but capture in war was the most prolific. In the second century before Christ Delos had been the great slave-mart, and numerous Greek slaves, many of high culture, had come to Rome as the result of the wars in Greece and Asia Minor; this supply was maintained in the next century through the campaigns of Sulla, Lucullus and Pompey. The pirates also, before their suppression in 66 B.C., as well as the publicans, kidnapped large numbers of people.

CONJUGAL HAPPINESS AMONG THE LOWER ORDERS

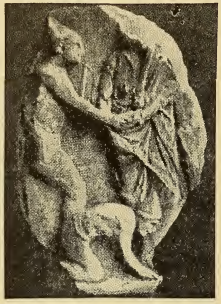
This relief from the first century B.C. adorned the monument of Aurelius Hermia, a butcher on the Viminal Hill, and depicts the worthy man and his wife clasping hands.
British Museum

Of slaves for rougher work the western provinces of Spain and Gaul offered great numbers; Caesar's campaigns, in particular, opened up a new source of supply. Thus it was that the domestic staffs of the numerous large houses in Rome were composed of slaves, ranging from the lower type for hard manual labor to the highly skilled for educational, secretarial or medical duties. The numbers of these were also kept up by slaves born in the house, and these were often treated with special indulgence. A slave of no

particular qualifications could be bought for a sum equalling about £10 in modern money, but one of extraordinary beauty or accomplishments would cost the equivalent of several hundreds of pounds.

Frequently these household slaves were on very friendly terms with their masters, and in these cases manumission (freeing by legal ceremony) was usual. Such were the relations between the orator Cicero and his slave secretary Tiro.

The manumission of a Tiro would add a valuable citizen to Rome, but there were too many instances in which freedom manufactured wholesale by will proved no such asset; and that is why Julius Caesar was anxious to ship many freedmen overseas to Corinth.



SLAVE MANUMISSION

Manumission was formally accomplished by a magistrate touching the kneeling slave with a rod. The slave wore a pointed cap of liberty ('pilleus').

From F Cumont, 'Collection Warocqué'

That the presence of an enormous slave population must greatly have affected the social life of Rome is obvious. They encouraged luxury and extravagance; Cicero, in his speech against Piso, criticizes the absence of a trim staff of slaves. "Nothing of his," he says, "was refined or elegant; his slaves did their serving in shabby garments, some of them being even old men. The same slave acted as cook and hall-porter." They must have displaced a good deal of free labor; they certainly rendered the policing of the city much more difficult, for they were prominent in the Clodian riots and followed in the train of turbulent spirits like Clodius and Milo in the capacity of armed bravoes, quite ready to cut anyone's throat at the bidding of their master, with whom alone the responsibility for keeping them in reasonable order was supposed to rest.

However, the influence of the country slave who looked after the cattle on the large grazing estates of the capitalists was even worse. He was of the roughest description, and was the instrument whereby a system ruinous to Roman economics was carried on. The formidable character of such slaves when they obtained a leader is illustrated by several incidents in the history of the Republic.

In the rising which took place in 134-2 B.C. the slaves in Sicily rebelled *en masse*, murdered their masters, and pillaged right and left. It took three Roman armies to subdue them, and in the end twenty thousand slaves were crucified. As many of the slave herdsmen were armed, they were not unaccustomed to acts of brigandage, and, indeed, were sometimes expected by their masters to help themselves to the necessaries of life in this way. The slave gladiators' schools at Capua supplied the initiative for a like rising in Italy. Under the leadership of Spartacus they broke out of barracks and moved into southern Italy, where an army of forty thousand was formed, and between 74 and 71 B.C. Spartacus and his army ranged over the country, capturing and sacking cities. It is small wonder that the business of travelling, towards the close of the Republic, was anything but safe.

As the most important element in the life of a nation from the social standpoint, the women will be the final class for consideration. The sanctity of marriage is a true index of the moral condition of a state. In this the Republic exhibits a steady decline. In the early period the usual form of marriage was a very solemn ceremony of a sacramental character, known as the confarreate ("confarreatio") from a cake of spelt (*far*) eaten by the bride and the bridegroom. The Chief Priest of Rome (Pontifex Maximus) and the Priest of Jupiter (Flamen Dialis) were present at the ceremony, and at all times only the offspring of parents married in this way were eligible for the higher priesthoods, and the matron thus married held a position of peculiar dignity.

Two other lesser forms, a symbolic purchase of the wife ("coemptio") and a simple, uninterrupted cohabitation for

a year ("usus"), were also valid. The important thing about these forms of marriage was that they transferred the woman and her property into the power, or into the "hand" ("in manum") as the Romans put it, of her husband.

As time went on, particularly after the Second Punic War, this transfer of a woman's property was resented by her family and by herself. Hence the preference for marriage by consent, which, though legal, did not involve the restrictions of the old ceremonies. It was a short step from this to concubinage.

BETROTHAL, which generally took place when the parties were still of tender years, was arranged by the parents on both sides, and this affair of arrangement, rather than true love, did not augur well for the endurance of the marriage tie. Infidelity and concubinage were rife amongst the upper classes; divorces were extraordinarily common. This tendency had begun after the Hannibalic war and increased apace. Roman women ordinarily were not sufficiently educated to prove true partners to their husbands, and men preferred the society of exceptionally brilliant women of looser morals. The average Roman aristocrat, though outwardly courteous, was a hard man, and this explains the frequency with which distinguished persons like Sulla, Pompey and Julius Caesar divorced their wives.

Scandalous stories were constantly floating round Rome, and even Cicero is said to have incurred the suspicions of his unattractive wife Terentia on account of his relations with the notorious Clodia. It is hardly unfair to regard Terentia as typical of a respectable Roman matron. She was dull and inclined to be shrewish, and the latter trait was even more marked in the case of her sister-in-law Pomponia, wife of Quintus Cicero. A well-known letter of Cicero gives an amusing account of the tantrums of this lady, which caused the orator to ask her brother Atticus to let her know that she had in his judgment displayed a lack of good breeding.

If Terentia and Pomponia were types calculated to tempt their husbands to infidelity, the notorious Clodia (identified with the Lesbia of Catullus' poems) was the kind of woman to whom they had recourse for consolation and distraction. This fascinating, but utterly unprincipled, widow of Metellus Celer is perhaps

SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY IN ROME

Joining hands was the essential part of the Roman marriage ceremony. In this relief from a sarcophagus a husband and wife are shown with right hands thus clasped; the 'pronuba'—the bride's matron friend—stands between them with a hand on the shoulder of each, and immediately behind the bride is a man, perhaps her father. Right and left of the group are mythological personages—Valor, Victory and Good Fortune—whose attendance is a happy augury to a newly-married pair.

British Museum

somewhat hardly dealt with by Cicero on account of his deadly enmity to her brother, but there is no doubt that she dazzled and threw aside in turn some of the most brilliant of the younger Romans, such as Catullus and Cælius.

A very characteristic side of Roman society is illustrated by these entanglements, with their philanderings, dances—at all times sternly disapproved of by the austerer Roman—banquets, yachting parties and gay life round the shores of fashionable Baiae.

While such amusements as these were indulged in by the gay and thoughtless gallants of the aristocracy on the eve of the Civil War, there was no lack of entertainment for the masses, provided by the recurring religious festivals and the public games. The best-known festival is that of the Saturnalia—a winter festival held in December—which had at this epoch been extended to seven days and gave opportunities to the members of a household, both free and slave, to indulge in feasting and merrymaking.

Games for the Public

But the most striking form of public entertainment was to be found in the great games. Of these the oldest, the Roman Games, lasted from September 5 to 19. They were associated with the worship of the Capitoline Jupiter, and the procession of foot, horse and chariots to the Capitol and Circus recalled a Roman triumph. Parallel to the Roman were the Plebeian Games, held from November 1 to 17, and dating, like so many public festivals, from the time of the Second Punic War.

These games constantly tended to increase in number and length, and were a great drain upon the resources of the state and the pockets of individuals; and there is no doubt that they were responsible for much of the enormous debts incurred by prominent persons towards the close of the Republic. Caesar, as aedile, is said "to have furnished 320 pairs of gladiators, and to have surpassed all efforts of his predecessors in his expenditure on theaters, processions and banquets."

Chariot racing in the Circus Maximus was the principal feature of the great games, but under the Republic there were only two colors, the red and the white, and there were no emperors to fan the popular excitement by favoring a particular color. Frantic scenes of backing were probably not yet in evidence. Gladiatorial shows were given by magistrates or seekers of magisterial office either in the Forum or the Circus, and also at funeral games. Cicero, writing to Curio in 53 B.C., tells him to rely on personal qualities rather than on funeral games, for by this time everyone is sick and tired of them.

In the theater stage-plays formed part of the games, but creative power was lacking, and there was a tendency to revive the plays of the preceding century. Probably scenes such as those described in the following lines by Terence repeated themselves at this period:

When first I put the play upon the stage
Boxers and tight-rope walkers were the rage.
The claque, the uproar and the women's cries
Caused me to beat retreat in hurried wise.
Again I show the play: the first act wins
Applause, and then a rumor just begins
Of gladiators—how the people race
And push each other for a front-view place.

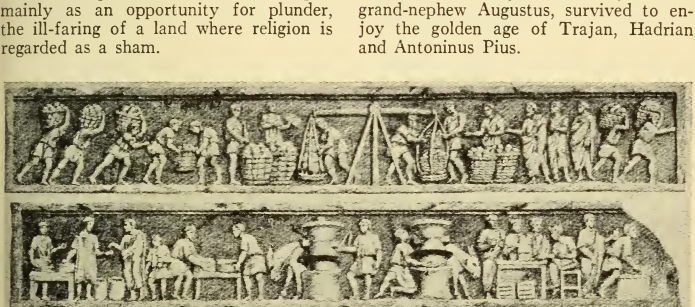
The truth is that, despite the efforts of a great actor like Roscius, who tried to revive Plautine comedy, the Romans were of too coarse a fibre really to enjoy the drama, and it is significant that elaborate effects had to be introduced as likely to attract audiences. Farces and mimes were far more popular, with their burlesques of everyday manners, as were also the so-called pantomimes, which were really mimicry of gestures without speech.

It remains to determine what general tendencies can be established from this study of Roman social life. The austerity and devotion to duty of the Roman people before the Hannibalic war commands respect, but does not excite enthusiasm, because it was lacking in brilliance and intellectual culture. Cato the Censor is a survivor of this age, except in so far as even he was not quite untouched by the prevailing Greek influence of his time. He was punctilious in carrying out what he conceived to be his duty towards his family and the state, but he was withal a hard man to his slaves and to his womenfolk, and was one who sought rather to preserve old customs with rigidity than to guide the

new culture into channels profitable to the individual and the community alike.

From the time of the Second Punic War to the Civil War the progress of Roman society affords valuable warnings to modern civilization. It reveals the dangers which accompany the decay of agriculture and the growth of a large and idle city population, barely kept in check by bribery, doles and shows, while a solid middle class is wanting. It demonstrates the demoralizing effect of large masses of slaves, the perils of culture unaccompanied by moral discipline, and of wealth when its possessors are without a sense of responsibility and seek only their own pleasure. It shows the social disasters which follow in the train of an ill-educated and frivolous womanhood and the disregard of the marriage tie, the pitfalls which await power when it is looked upon mainly as an opportunity for plunder, the ill-faring of a land where religion is regarded as a sham.

Mommsen passed a severe judgment upon the Rome of this period in the following words: "If we try to conceive to ourselves a London with the slave-population of New Orleans, with the police of Constantinople, with the non-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by politics after the fashion of the Paris of 1848, we shall acquire an approximate idea of the Republican glory, the departure of which Cicero and his associates in their sulky letters deplore." This judgement is in the main just, but it would be wrong to forget that in a previous age the Republic had established a high standard of law-abidingness and self-sacrifice. The evils of a society are always more easily recognized than its virtues, and a community could not have been utterly rotten which, thanks to the valiant efforts of Julius Caesar, and his grand-nephew Augustus, survived to enjoy the golden age of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.



A WHOLESALE BAKERY BUSINESS IN REPUBLICAN ROME

Reliefs from the tomb of Eurysaces depict various operations of the bakery trade. In the two lower strips the grain is being ground in mills by donkey power, rolled and kneaded and baked. The center strip shows (right) the delivery of the bread to the magistrates, for whom Eurysaces worked on contract, and the top strip shows the weighing and dispatch of the loaves. The series forms a complete picture of a business concern of the period employing many hands.

From Monumenti dell' Instituto'

FROM THE GRACCHI TO AUGUSTUS

A STUDY OF TWELVE GREAT ROMANS WHO LIVED IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC

By F. A. WRIGHT

Professor of Classics in the University of London

OF the men who made the early State of Rome, from its mythical foundation by Romulus in 753 B.C. down to the capture of the city by the Gauls in 390, we know very little. The next period, from 390 to 146, when the Romans were conquering Italy and the Mediterranean world, was one of great achievements, but not of great men. When we come to the last century of the Republic a succession of great characters suddenly appears, characters who impress themselves so vividly on the records of history that even now they are not forgotten.

It is convenient to take the lives of the brothers Gracchi together, for though in many respects they were men of dissimilar character, they both possessed one predominant quality, inherited perhaps through their mother Cornelia from their grandfather the great Scipio Africanus, the quality of 'temeritas,' an impatience of the conventions so dear to the Roman mind and a boldness of action that often drew near to the vice of rashness. A cautious hesitation, a sympathy with tradition, a respect for ancestral usage, were among the strongest characteristics of the average Roman. Innovations, even if at first sight beneficial, seemed in the long run dangerous; and it was a reckless disregard of this ingrained belief that brought the Gracchi to their lamentable end. As their own respectable relative Scipio Aemilianus said: 'So may all perish who dare to venture on new ways.'

There is an anecdote that Cornelia one day received a visit from a woman friend who desired to see her jewels. 'These are my jewels,' she said, as she drew aside a curtain and pointed to the sleeping forms of her two young sons. Tiberius (163-133 B.C.), especially, when he grew to manhood, was a son of whom any mother, a husband of whom any wife, might be proud. Brave, handsome and eloquent, he was filled with an unselfish desire to benefit his fellow men and to bring back to Rome the good old days, as he conceived them, when every man had his own piece of land, his fireside and his home. 'The wild beasts of Italy,' he cried in one of his speeches, 'have holes and dens wherein to shelter: the heroes who shed their blood for our country have nothing left them but light and air.' As tribune accordingly he brought in a bill whereby the state was to resume possession of all the land in Italy, to leave the existing owners five hundred acres each, and to divide the rest into allotments of thirty acres at a small rent.

Whether such a project was feasible is doubtful; and whether the new allotment holders could have competed successfully with the foreign corn that was already pouring into Rome is more doubtful still. But to the impetuous zeal of Tiberius any opposition seemed malignant treason, and when his fellow tribune Octavius vetoed his proposals he persuaded the people illegally to depose his colleague, and then asked to be elected for a second year of office. The city at once was thrown into a turmoil. Tiberius surrounded himself with a bodyguard of friends, and on the day of election declared himself in danger of assassination. His followers charged their opponents; a party of senators under Scipio Nasica joined in the fray; and as Tiberius, struggling amidst the crowd, stumbled and fell over a corpse, his brains were beaten out with a footstool.

At the time of his brother's death Gaius Gracchus (153-121 B.C.) was a youth of twenty. But he had already been appointed one of the three Land Commissioners, and as soon as he was able he resumed Tiberius' work. Gaius,

however, was not a sentimental enthusiast; he was a practical politician, and his guiding motive was vehement ambition rather than generous benevolence. He saw in himself another Pericles, and hoped by the perpetual possession of the tribunate to override the Senate's authority and occupy at Rome the same position that his great exemplar had held in Athens.

He waited for ten years, and then began to propose and press through the Popular Assembly a series of laws, which were meant to absorb into his hands the entire administration of the Roman Empire. The first, and the most disastrous in its ultimate results, was his Corn Law, whereby corn was sold to the urban voters at just half its real value. His next, a necessary corollary, was intended to render agriculture possible for Italian farmers by establishing for them overseas colonies, where they would not be ruined by the unnatural conditions of the Roman market.

Having thus won the support of the city mob and the rural voters, Gaius devised another weapon for himself in the new equestrian order of capitalists, to whom he handed over the control of the law-courts and the privilege of farming the taxes of Asia Minor; and by the end of his second year of office the more timorous senators began to suspect in him an uncrowned tyrant. But Gaius, unfortunately for himself, lacked the armed force which is a tyrant's real strength. The Roman mob were his friends as long as he consulted only their interests; when he proposed to extend the franchise to the Italians they at once grew lukewarm.

The Senate took advantage of this change of feeling, and with the help of another tribune, one Marcus Drusus, so dexterously undermined Gaius' position that when the time came for him to be elected tribune for a third year, he found himself rejected. His enemies now had their opportunity, and began by proposing the repeal of his colonial laws. The day for voting arrived, and those ardent democrats who still remained loyal to the fallen leader came down to the Forum armed with knives and clubs. The bloodshed they anticipated took place, and again a Gracchus was the victim of senatorial fury and popular ingratitude. Gaius, who had sprained his ankle, endeavored to escape from his assailants. But though he called repeatedly for a horse, no one came to his help. 'For this treachery,' he cried, 'may the Roman people never cease to be slaves,' and ordered the one Greek servant who remained with him to stab him to the heart.

Those to whom names have a mystical significance may find it interesting to observe that the four great Roman democratic statesmen all bore the same praenomen. Gaius Flaminius gave the unprivileged classes land, Gaius Gracchus gave them food, Gaius Marius gave them pay, and Gaius Caesar gave them everything. All four were innovators, and Marius not the least among them.

Gaius Marius (155-86 B.C.) was endowed to a supreme degree with the Roman virtue of 'fortitudo'; not the quality that we call bravery, but rather the stubborn endurance that brought the Romans through all their wars, in spite of initial failures, to a successful end, and brought Marius first from the ranks to supreme command, and later in his life from the marshes of Minturnae to his seventh consulship. Born of humble parents, full-bodied, red-faced and fierce-eyed, he possessed neither culture, eloquence nor political sagacity. But he was the first great soldier to spring from the people, and that was sufficient to gain him office. As consul he concluded the Jugurthine War and then was recalled home in haste to face the formidable menace of a German invasion. Serious dangers call for strong remedies, and Marius met the situation by a drastic army reform.

Until this time military service, both in Greece and Rome, had been, not a trade, but a privilege and duty confined to citizens. If paid soldiers were wanted they were hired from abroad, and the same word in Greek means both 'mercenary' and 'foreigner.' Citizens received their bare expenses, but except for an uncertain share of the spoil they were no richer at the end of a war than they had been at the beginning. The system was possible as long as campaigns were of short duration and fought in a man's own country. But the Hannibalic War in Italy and the overseas wars with Macedonia and Syria that followed immediately after

put too great a strain upon it at Rome, and by the middle of the second century B.C. it was plain that it had broken down. To substitute another method, a method that lasted for nearly twenty centuries, until the modern days of conscription, was Marius' great work.

When Marius returned from Africa he had two urgent duties; first to raise and then to train a new army. Instead of issuing the usual levy notices to the propertied classes he called on all free men to volunteer, promised them a grant of land sufficient for maintenance at the end of their service, and swept away all grades and distinctions in the army itself. Then he gave his troops a long period of such intense training that they were known as 'Marius' mules,' marching with them on foot, sharing their food, and putting hand himself to spade and trenching tool. The immediate result was the destruction of the German hordes at Aquae Sextiae; a secondary, the creation of an army attached by ties of loyalty and self-interest to one man. So within half a century the armed democracy gave birth to the military empire.

Fifty years of Marius' life were spent in constant effort, which was, however, crowned by success. He saved Rome from the greatest danger she had yet known; he reorganized the army; he was six times consul. But in Sulla he met a man greater even than himself, and if it had not been for his invincible stubbornness, he would have acknowledged his inferiority. When the younger general with his legions marched on Rome, 88 B.C., Marius was compelled to flee the city and a price was set upon his head.

He found a ship to take him to Africa, but the captain, on reflection, thought him too dangerous a passenger, and he was put on shore again. For days he hid in a ditch covered with reeds, until his retreat was detected and he was dragged off to prison. The local magistrates decided to put him to death; but when the executioner saw the old man's fierce eyes, he flung down his sword and cried: 'I cannot kill Marius.' Accordingly he was sent off to Africa, and there sat as an exile amid the ruins of Carthage. The unexpected triumph of the democrats in 87 allowed him to return; a seventh consulship fulfilled the prophecy which had sustained his resolution, but he died a fortnight after his election, while the blood of his enemies was reddening the streets of Rome.

Of all the statesmen that the Roman Republic produced Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78 B.C.) offers the greatest interest to the psychologist. He is the strangest compound of selfishness and unselfishness, of courtesy and cruelty, of the lowest vices of a Greek tyrant and the highest virtues of a Roman patriot. Entirely devoid of any personal ambition, he yet held supreme power for two years, only to lay down that power of his own free will when he judged that his political work was finished. Urbane in his dealings with men and irresistible with women of every class, he was yet the author of the most sanguinary of proscriptions and looked on with indifference while thousands of innocent victims were murdered in cold blood. In public affairs he upheld with unfaltering vigor the ancient ideals of an aristocratic government superior to any corruption, yet in private he surrendered, grossly and voluptuously, to the new pleasures that Greece was teaching her conquerors, and lived surrounded by courtesans, catamites and cooks.

The excesses of his old age were perhaps partly due to the privations of his youth; for, favorite of fortune though he was, Sulla in his early days knew by bitter experience the difficulties that beset the path of an impoverished aristocrat. His first stroke of luck was when a woman of the town left him the fortune she had accumulated in the practice of her profession. The second came when, acting as quaestor under Marius in Africa, he secured by guile what his commanding officer had missed by force of arms, and brought Jugurtha in chains to Rome.

After that the road lay open. A governorship in Cilicia was followed by a series of victories in the Social War, and these in turn by the consulship, 88 B.C., and the command against Mithradates. His struggles with Marius and the democrats who attempted to deprive him of that command, his triumphs in the East and his final settlement with Cinna and his domestic foes in 83, need only here be barely mentioned. The battle of the Colline Gate, that crowning mercy, left him undisputed master in Italy, and he was free at last to undertake a thorough purging of the state.

His guiding idea was quite simple. Himself a convinced oligarch, he thought that strong oligarchy was the best government that a country could have. He therefore proceeded to strengthen the Senate in all possible ways, and to weaken every section in the state that might oppose the Senate's authority. All laws had now to have the Senate's sanction before they could be introduced to the people. Thus the popular assembly was rendered impotent. If a man was once elected tribune he was not eligible for any other magistracy, nor, indeed, for the tribunate again until ten years had passed; therefore no man of ability was likely to stand. Other enactments brought the executive much more under the Senate's control than it had been before, and the privileges of the equestrian order were ruthlessly curtailed.

These reforms, skilfully devised as they were, depended ultimately for their successful working on a certain level of senatorial ability. That ability was not available, and, a few years after his death, Sulla's new constitution was swept away. But there was another set of Cornelian laws, doubtless regarded as far less important by their author, which were never repealed, and still exercise an influence on our society. By the institution of standing courts to try each various kind of offense Sulla became the founder of Roman criminal law, and, incidentally of all those modern legal systems that derive therefrom. As Marius created the professional soldier, so Sulla created the professional lawyer.

His work completed, Sulla married a young wife, a damsel who had first attracted his attention at the theater by picking off a fringe from his toga that she might share in his good luck; and then he laid down the dictatorship and retired with his lady to his country house on the south coast. There he spent the final year of his life, enjoying the pleasures he loved most. His last recorded act was to send for a corrupt official who had boasted that he would escape punishment, and have him strangled at his bedside. His self-composed epitaph sums up his career:

> No friend ever did me such service, nor enemy such mischief, that I did not pay him back in overflowing measure.

One of the most obvious defects in the Roman character was the quality which in Latin is called 'avaritia'; not at all our sordid avarice, but the more dangerous habit of thinking that money is all-powerful and all-important. If people think very strongly that a thing is so it becomes so for them, and among the Romans in the last century of the Republic the supreme omnipotent divinity was Gold. All classes worshipped at the shrine and Crassus was the high priest.

From the very beginning of his career Marcus Licinius Crassus (107-53 B.C.) displayed an inordinate love of money-making. Under Sulla he proved himself a skilful and fortunate general; but he completely forfeited the Dictator's confidence by embezzling the enemies' military chest and by seizing the property of men whose names had never appeared on Sulla's proscription lists. Dismissed into private life, he turned all his energies into one channel, and within a few years made himself by far the richest man in Rome. His inherited property was comparatively modest, but he had the genius of acquisition and knew exactly how to invest his money to the best advantage.

Land and houses were the solid foundation of his fortune, the first acquired by buying cheaply from the state the property of proscribed democrats, the second gained by an even more subtle and economical method. Fires were common in Rome, and there was no fire brigade until Crassus organized a large private gang of his own men. Whenever there was a big blaze he would arrive on the scene and offer to buy the adjoining houses—at his price. If the owners consented, and they were usually willing to cut their loss, the fire was put out and the houses saved; if not, they were allowed to burn. It must, of course, be acknowledged that Crassus, like most successful money getters, had no sense of shame. He was the most notorious of money-lenders; he personally trained the slaves whom he let out as cooks, and his constant interviews with a Vestal Virgin, whose property he was trying to buy under cost, once almost brought him into the unpleasant predicament of being charged with incest.

Still, as the Roman proverb has it, 'money does not smell,' and however unsavory the means he employed Crassus was indisputably a great force and could bargain on equal terms with Pompey and Caesar when they agreed in 61 to combine

their resources. The first five years of the Triumvirate offered small scope to his peculiar abilities; but there can be little doubt that in that period Pompey's returned veterans were beginning to spread through Rome rumors of the huge treasures buried in Asia and waiting to be found. In any case, when the three confederates divided up the world afresh in 55 B.C., Crassus insisted on receiving the Eastern command, and taking an army went off to seize the Persian gold.

The Parthians, however, proved a fatal obstacle. The old Roman—he was over sixty and looked older than his years—was caught by their archers in the sandy desert of Carrhae, his army annihilated and himself killed. According to one story, as he lay dead, molten gold was poured down his throat so that at last his insatiable thirst for money might be quenched. According to another, his head was cut off and sent by special messenger to the Parthian king's court, where a troup of strolling Greek actors performing Euripides' Bacchae used it in place of the property head of Pentheus.

In Pompey (106-48 B.C.) we have the perfect Whig, the ideal hero of Macaulay's dreams, a type so essentially Scottish that it is not surprising if he alone of the Romans is commonly known among us as The Great. The title was given him, perhaps half in mockery, by the Tory Sulla; but in Pompey Whiggery reaches such heroic proportions that it cannot be said to be undeserved. A total lack of humor, an intense respectability, a sincere but narrow patriotism, great powers of administration balanced by a painful weakness of imagination, a craving, carefully concealed, for power, and a fixed resolve to keep others out if one cannot get in oneself—these are some of the chief Whig qualities, and these were the chief features in Pompey's character.

The son of a parvenu of doubtful reputation, Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius) gained fame and position by his own solid merits. He proved himself the most capable of Sulla's subordinates, was chosen by him to root out the democrats in Africa and Sicily, and while still a young man holding no official position received from the Dictator the unexampled honor of a triumph. The crushing of Lepidus' conspiracy in 77 was followed by five years' arduous fighting against Sertorius in Spain and by a return to Italy in time to stamp out the embers of the Slave War.

At the head of a veteran army Pompey was then in much the same position as Marius had been before him and Caesar was to be later. But after a year's uneasy coalition with Crassus, in which the ill-matched associates repealed most of Sulla's laws, he retired into private life, and only emerged from it with apparent reluctance in 67 to carry out a short and brilliant campaign against the pirates. The Gabinian Law gave him powers that were altogether unconstitutional, but he had a salve for his uneasy conscience in the fact that he had not solicited either them or the even more irregular command against Mithradates which the tribune Manilius thrust upon him in 66.

His term of office in the East was the great period of Pompey's life, and his organization of Syria was as important to the welfare of the Empire as was Caesar's organization of Gaul. The Senate, however, was incapable of recognizing service; and on his return in 62 Pompey was compelled, almost against his will, to join forces with Crassus and Caesar. The next ten years showed in Rome, as the years after Waterloo showed in England, that a man may be the best of generals yet the most incompetent of politicians.

Caesar gradually drew away from Pompey, the Senate gradually drew towards him; and when at last in 50 the die was cast for war there was no doubt on which side he would stand. On three occasions in his own career he had found himself at the head of a devoted army, faced by the perverse opposition of the Senate, and tempted to make himself master of the state by force. He had resisted the temptation—whether from prudence or coldness of temperament or genuine patriotism is immaterial—and it was not likely that he would allow a rival to seize the power which he himself had refused.

The contest that followed was one between quick audacity and prudent slowness. Pompey made his first mistake in leaving Italy, his second in giving battle against his own judgment at Pharsalus. After that crushing defeat he fled to Egypt, and there found how great is the difference in the East between success and failure. As he stepped on shore from his galley he was stabbed in the back, and his head was cut off and taken to Caesar.

It was a favorite maxim with the wise men of antiquity that states would never be rightly governed until a king became a philosopher or a philosopher became a king. On the few occasions, however, when the maxim was put into practice the results were not encouraging. The Greek philosopher Demetrius when he became master of Athens proved a particularly licentious tyrant. The Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, in spite of his philosophical abilities, found himself faced by disaster in most of his undertakings. And even more signally did the wise and upright Marcius Porcius Cato (95-46 B.C.) lead to ruin the senatorial party of which he was the head.

As a matter of fact Cato's outlook on life was vitiated by one cardinal error. He insisted on looking behind, to the past, while it is the statesman's first duty to look forward, to the future. Unfortunately he was descended from that arch-reactionary Cato the Censor, and being full of the spirit of ancestor worship he resolved to model his conduct in all circumstances upon that of his illustrious progenitor. But although he possessed most of the Censor's virtues, his sincerity, his financial rectitude, his industry and his love of truth, he lacked those vices which made the elder Cato formidable: he was neither selfish, surly, overbearing nor cruel. For example, when his friend Hortensius came to him and asked him to divorce his wife Marcia in order that he, Hortensius, might marry her, Cato reluctantly, in the name of friendship, consented. He was living happily with Marcia, and after the death of Hortensius took her back and lived happily with her to the end; but he conceived that it was a good man's duty to be unselfish and oblige a friend.

To the common judgment there seems something absurd and almost offensive in generosity like this; but Cato never feared either ridicule or dislike. He was a strict puritan in matters of sex, and strongly disapproved of the Floralia, where by custom the women dancers divested themselves of their usual light attire and appeared naked on the stage. Accordingly Cato attended the show one day, and as soon as the first naked woman showed herself, got up from his seat and walked solemnly out of the theater. The people jeered at him angrily, but Cato had made his protest and was satisfied.

Protests such as these were Cato's chief weapons in combating both the political and the social evils of his day; and although they were usually just, they were painfully ineffective. He protested in 63 against Caesar's complicity in Catiline's plot; he protested in 62 against what he considered to be Pompey's extortionate demands; he protested in 61 against the tax farmers of Asia being excused from their contract; he protested in 60 against the union of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, and still more violently against the measures which they proposed. That he was making all these men his enemies and forcing them into hostility towards the Senate did not concern him; he was doing his duty as he conceived it.

It is easy to make a good man look ridiculous, and Cato offers an obvious handle to the cynical humorist. But it should be remembered that he was not only a good, he was also a great man; an expert financier, a skilful administrator and a general who won and kept the devoted loyalty of his soldiers. It was he who rendered inevitable the final and necessary struggle between Caesar and the Senate, and in all the fighting in Greece and Africa he played an heroic part. When it became certain after Thapsus that all was lost he took the only logical course, and by suicide rejoined the great souls of antiquity who had been his guides and patterns through life.

If one wishes to realize what manner of man Gaius Julius Caesar (102-44 B.C.) really was, it is only necessary to look carefully at the portrait bust that is now in the Museum at Naples (see page 929.) The face proclaims the mind, and that broad brow, firm mouth and keen eyes reveal the qualities that make Caesar one of the greatest men in our world's history. Compare him with the Apsley portrait of Cicero (page 936), and you will see the difference between the man of deeds and the man of words. Compare him with the Ny Carlsberg bust of Pompey (page 935), and you will see the difference between the man who thought for himself and the man who depended ultimately upon the opinion of others.

No one stands really upon the same level as Caesar save Alexander and Napoleon; and even these two in universality of genius are his inferiors. Caesar was both a great demagogue and a great states-

man, both a great general and a great author, both a great lover of women and a great master of men. Moreover, while Alexander and Napoleon reached the height of their achievement in early manhood, Caesar's powers were continually growing and in his fifty-eighth year he crowded into twelve months the work of an ordinary ruler's lifetime.

With a man so versatile as this, it is perhaps misleading to lay stress on particular qualities. But it may be safely said that rapidity and resolution were the keynotes of his character. One incident in his early life is typical of his whole career. While he was travelling in the East and waiting for the Sullan regime to end, he was taken prisoner by pirates; but by sheer force of personality he compelled his captors to treat him as an honored guest. When his ransom, which he insisted should be a large one, arrived, he made his way to the nearest port, hired a few galleys, returned, crucified the entire gang, and got his money back. The same cynical humor is shown in his remark to the braggart who was displaying the scars on his chest; 'Numquam fugiens respexeris'— 'You should never look round when you are running away.' It was this combination of coolness and intrepidity that made him first the idol of the Roman mob, then the successful general in Spain, then the conqueror of Gaul, and finally the master of the world.

It is unnecessary here to describe the process whereby the ringleted young demagogue of 72 B.C. became the bald old dictator of 45 B.C. By that year Caesar had chased the armed forces of the oligarchs round the Mediterranean and had exterminated them even more thoroughly than Sulla had exterminated the democrats. Then came the double problem of finance and form of government. A long period of civil war had emptied the treasury and all the power in the state had fallen into one man's hands. The old convention under which the people ruled in theory and the Senate in practice was obsolete, and it remained for Caesar to find a new method.

It would seem that he determined to solve both questions together by an Eastern campaign. The gold of Persia would fill up the empty coffers of Rome, and, once recognized by the East as a semi-divine autocrat, it would be possible to inculcate the same belief upon the Western world. A few centuries later the monarchy by right divine became an established fact; but even Caesar did not realize how the Romans clung to the past. His own friends murmured the word 'tyranny,' and when Brutus and Cassius saw that the Parthian expedition was imminent, they decided that it must be prevented at all costs. So came the Ides of March and Caesar's death.

There are many different kinds of greatness. It is possible for a great man to be vain and irresolute, to be lacking in both prudence and insight; to be inexact in his statements and a poor judge of character. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.) had all these defects; and yet his title to greatness cannot be denied. Today we recognize that politics, in spite of a certain connexion with the practice of the law, is in reality a profession by itself. A famous general, a famous administrator, a famous author with us usually sticks to his own last; and shows his wisdom by so doing. In Rome the condition of the body politic was such that every man of eminence was drawn to try his hand at curing its maladies. Cicero, like Marius and Pompey, left his own proper sphere and endeavored with very little success to play the statesman. Hence the severity of the criticisms that have been passed upon his character. But his failure as a politician should not blind us to his genius in other directions.

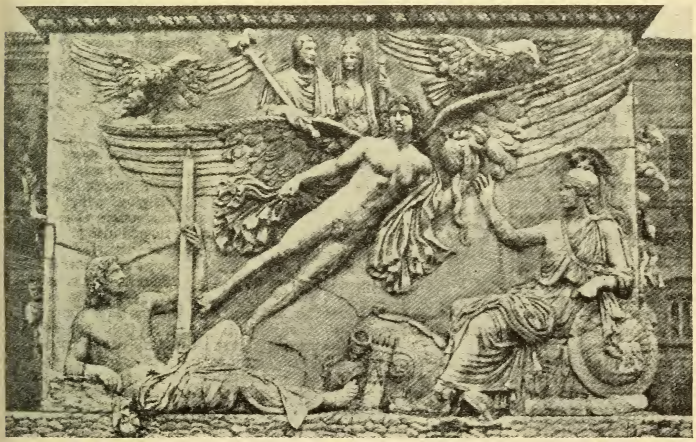
His political career, which seemed to him to be enormously important, may be briefly dismissed. A new man from the country, his eloquence was his only weapon in the struggle for office. But eloquence at Rome was a great asset, and it carried Cicero quickly through the subordinate grades to the consulship in 63. In that year occurred one of the many attempts to upset the existing constitution; and Cicero acted with commendable resolution in suppressing Catiline.

He was indeed too resolute, for instead of being honored for ever, as he expected, as the savior of the country, he was exiled soon afterwards on the charge of having put Roman citizens to death without trial. In a little time he was allowed to return; but his self-esteem had suffered a cruel blow and he remained a waverer in politics till Caesar's assassination. Though he had not been

admitted to any knowledge of that plot, when the deed was done he gave it his fervent blessing, and came out from his retirement to oppose Antony. But once again he was unsuccessful. The Senate was impotent, and the rival army leaders could afford to disregard the old orator. When the proscription lists of 37 were issued he was certainly among the victims; but it was probably his wealth quite as much as his political influence that was the cause of his death.

Cicero would have made an admirable president of a debating society; but as he could not control his own wife it was scarcely surprising that he could not control the Roman people. The greatness of his literary work, however, more than compensates for his weakness in action. He did not realize it himself, but he was always more at his ease in his study than in the Senate, and he is far the most lovable of all the Romans: kind, witty and humane, an affectionate father and a generous, loyal friend. Greece was his spiritual home rather than Italy, and both in his speeches and his letters he constantly betrays himself. To most of his countrymen brevity seemed the soul of wit; Cicero, like a Greek, loved words for themselves, and is never satisfied until he has said the same thing two or three times over. Definiteness is the one thing a Roman valued, the one thing that Cicero avoids; he makes almost as many provisos as Demosthenes; if he means to refuse a request he does not say 'No,' but rather, 'Yes—unless I am prevented'; and instead of 'it is,' he much prefers 'it would appear to be.'

But these idiosyncrasies do not affect the splendid flow of his eloquence when he is at his best, and in such passages as the conclusion of the Second Philippic he reaches the highest summits of oratory. Equally important is his work in popularising Greek philosophy and rhetoric, while his general influence on European literature has perhaps been greater than that of any other one man. He is the supreme artist in words, and far more truly than Nero might he have said of



DEIFICATION OF AN EMPEROR: ANTONINUS BORNE TO HEAVEN

An eastern element in Roman state religion during imperial times was the divinization of the emperors after death—in the provinces they were even worshipped during their lifetime. Here we see Antoninus Pius and Faustina borne to heaven by Immortality, while Roma and the Campus Martius look on; the relief is on a base that once supported a column erected in honor of the emperor.

Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome; photo, Moscioni

himself, when the assassin's knife was at his throat: 'Qualis artifex pereo'—'What art dies with me!'

The Romans as a people were curiously unlike the Greeks and curiously like the English. They were practical, stubborn and unromantic; too much inclined to the pleasures of the flesh and too little attracted by the chaster delights of intellectual speculation. But the chief English virtue, the virtue of cheerful audacity, they never possessed. Not commonly possessing it, they thought 'audacia' a vice rather than a virtue, and were thankful for their freedom from temptation. And in the career of Marcus Antonius (anglicised as Mark Antony—he and Pompey are almost the only Romans whose names are more familiar to us in their English than in their Latin shape) his countrymen must often have found an opportunity to point their favorite moral: 'Safety first.'

Mark Antony (83-30 B.C.) was one of Caesar's men, the last of that company of brilliant adventurers to which Clodius, Mamurra, Caelius and Curio had belonged. Of all the band he enjoyed the Dictator's closest confidence, and on the day after the Ides of March he stepped, as far as his abilities allowed, into his dead chief's place. Cicero and the miserable remnant of the senatorial party whom the old orator tried to galvanize into life offered him no great difficulty. But the combination of Octavian's subtlety with Agrippa's vigor was another matter. It is curious to notice how contempt on Antony's part changed first to toleration and then to respect, and finally to a sort of fear, the fear that a lion might feel of a serpent. The whole process only lasted four years and, in spite of his advantage in age, in strength and in military prestige, Antony was so completely out-jockeyed by his rival that he was glad in 40 B.C. to make with him the Treaty of Brundusium, to accept his sister Octavia as wife in place of the termagant Fulvia who had just died, and to retire from Italy to take up the command in the East.

But before Antony began his Parthian wars, he met his fate in Cleopatra. He had summoned the queen to him as a culprit, to give account of the help she had rendered to Cassius. The Egyptian, however, who knew by past experience of Caesar and Sextus Pompeius the susceptibility of Roman hearts, smiled at his threats. As Plutarch tells us, she sailed to him up the river Cydnus in a barge with gilded poop, its sails spread purple, its rowers urging it on with silver oars to the sound of the flute blended with pipes and lutes. She herself, adorned like Venus, reclined beneath a canopy spangled with gold, while boy Cupids fanned her on either side, and the fairest of her maidens, attired as sea nymphs, stood ready at the ropes. A rumor spread that Venus had come to revel with Bacchus for the good of Asia; and Antony, burly and sanguine, who had already made his entry into Ephesus escorted by the wine god's cortège of maenads and satyrs, was quite ready to play his part.

Serious historians have wondered why great men like Caesar and Antony should have wasted their time and strength in what they call 'amorous dalliance.' But they probably have not realized that to a truly bold spirit the conquest of such a woman as Cleopatra, a conquest that must every day be renewed and can never be regarded as complete, is a difficult and dangerous task that offers irresistible attractions. A price, of course, has to be paid, and at Actium Antony paid the price for his nine years with Cleopatra. But whether Augustus or Antony got the more enjoyment from life and whether Livia or Cleopatra was the more entertaining companion are questions that cannot be answered without some consideration.

A man's fame and the figure that he cuts in history do not always depend upon his own merits. Fortune and the chances of literature play no insignificant part. The lives of the other great men with whom these pages have been concerned are narrated at length by Plutarch and Suetonius. Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa alone has no formal biographer and is consequently far less known and far less esteemed than he deserves. Yet of all the twelve he is perhaps the best example of his countrymen's typical virtues; and if we consider the actual achievements of his industry we shall find that only Caesar can equal Agrippa's record.

There is furthermore a particular reason why Agrippa's name should be more familiar than it is to English readers. He was the first Roman to show any conception of the importance of sea power, the first to establish a permanent fleet with definite duties in peace time as well as in

war. Before his reforms navies were built hastily for some special emergency, and when that emergency was over ceased to function; their crews were disbanded and the ships themselves allowed to rot. The consequence was that piracy, officially destroyed by Pompey in 67 B.C., was as flourishing as ever in 37 B.C., and Sextus Pompeius at the head of the corsair fleets was a serious danger to the Triumvirate.

It would take too long to describe here how Agrippa constructed his great harbor by joining the Lucrine and Avernian lakes, how he spent laborious months training his sailors as Marius before him had trained his legionaries, and how as a result at the battles of Mylae and Naulochus piracy was swept off the sea, not to lift its head again for several centuries. Equally important was the victory at Actium, 31 B.C., for which Agrippa was solely responsible; and even if his life work had ended with his organization of the fleet Agrippa would be one of the great figures in Roman history.

But naval affairs were only one section of Agrippa's activities. In 33 B.C. he accepted the aedileship and began those public works at Rome of which many remain to-day as his permanent memorials. Turning from salt water to fresh, he constructed a new aqueduct, the Julia, some of whose arches can still be seen in the Aurelian Wall; then, after organizing a gang of public slaves to manage the water service, he built for the people's use the first of those huge bathing establishments which became in later times the most wonderful features of the city. For the people's benefit also were the arcades in the Campus Martius, which he had named after himself and his sister Polla, elaborate structures decorated with frescoes and offering to loungers a welcome refuge from the sun. These have now disappeared; but his Pantheon, built probably to commemorate Actium, though radically altered under the Empire is the best preserved of all ancient structures in Rome.

These achievements of civil administration were but interludes in a long series of provincial governorships in all parts of the Roman world which involved many difficult military campaigns. After bringing the Perusine War in Italy to an end (40 B.C.), Agrippa spent the years 38 and 37 in Gaul and Germany, subduing a serious revolt among the still scarcely pacified frontier tribes. Then for some time he was busy with the fleet, and after Actium there were many problems of government at Rome to occupy his attention. In 19 B.C. he took command in Spain, and two years later went to Syria, only leaving it to quell a dangerous rebellion in Pannonia. And in addition to all this he was an author and something of a scientist. He wrote memoirs of his own time as well as a treatise on geography, and in his sister Polla's arcade there was exhibited a map in marble which he himself

EMPEROR AND PRIEST

The college of the twelve Arval Brethren was one of the ancient republican institutions whose prestige Augustus attempted to revive; the emperors enrolled themselves as Arvals, and here we see Marcus Aurelius garbed as one.

British Museum

had constructed after he had carried out that survey of the whole world to which S. Luke refers.

Even now we have not mentioned the most arduous of all Agrippa's tasks, a task in which a man like Tiberius miserably failed. Happily wedded to Pomponia, the daughter of Cicero's friend, Atticus, he divorced his wife in order to marry into the President's family and so establish the succession. His first essay, with a niece Marcella, proved unsuccess-

ful; and then in 21 B.C. he undertook the most difficult position that any man in Rome had to fill, the control, as husband, of Augustus' daughter Julia. For nearly a decade he maintained his authority, and although during that period Julia was hardly a model of strict propriety, all open scandal was avoided and she completely fulfilled a wife's first duty of fecundity. To her husband she bore five children, three boys and two girls, and by 12 B.C. the line of succession in the Julian house seemed firmly secured. Agrippa's death in that year was the beginning of Augustus' private and public misfortunes.

It has sometimes been noticed that the head of a great business seems to do comparatively little work himself, although he pockets most of the profit accruing from his firm's undertakings. He puts reliable subordinates in charge of each important department, and then, like some benevolent deity, watches their operations and assumes the credit for them. The problem, of course, is to find subordinates who can be safely trusted and whose interests are the same as their superior's; and if a man can secure these helpers among his own family or his intimate friends he is almost sure of success. Such was the position of Gaius Julius Octavianus (63 B.C.-A.D. 14), when once he had established the great new business of the Roman Principate. Maecenas managed home affairs for him, Agrippa and Tiberius fought his wars, Livia initiated his social legislation: he himself sat in the center and pulled the strings.

But before this happy consummation was reached there were many dangers to face and many competitors to overcome. Augustus, to give him the name by which he is commonly known, was born as Octavius, the son of an obscure country money-lender. Luckily for him his mother was the only child of Julius Caesar's only sister, and consequently he was the dictator's nearest male relative. He was pursuing his studies quietly in north Greece, where he had just made the acquaintance of Marcus Agrippa, the young son of a farmer, when he received the news of Caesar's death. The two friends went to an astrologer, were assured that their horoscopes were favorable, and then they set off together for Italy.

There Octavian found that he had been left his great-uncle's heir, and received a warm welcome both from Caesar's veterans and from Cicero, who saw in him a useful stick wherewith to beat Antony. In a little while, however, the unknown youth of eighteen showed himself in all the arts of statesmanship more than a match for either Antony or Cicero. Cautious and cold-blooded, he had signal advantages in dealing with two men one of whom was habitually intemperate in words and the other in deeds; but his handling of a situation which till 31 was fraught with difficulty remains a masterpiece of skill.

Actium left Octavian master of the world, as Caesar had been, and, like Caesar, he was faced by the task of determining a new form of government. But he was far more careful of opinion than his predecessor had shown himself to be, and instead of seizing power he waited for power to be offered to him. By the year 27 all the details had been arranged, he accepted from the Senate the honorary title of Augustus, and the new principate begins. Like the old republican constitution, whose outward forms were preserved although all reality was taken from them, it was based upon a convention. In theory the Senate appointed a perpetual president as supreme executive; actually the president either appointed his own successor or the choice was made by the army. In theory the government was divided between the Princeps and the Senate: actually the Senate became more and more of a shadow, and the Princeps gathered complete control into his own hands. It was a highly artificial system, but it worked; and it gave the Roman world for two centuries greater material prosperity than it had ever before enjoyed.

If Augustus had only had questions of government to settle he might have lived a happy life. But in common with many another man he found the women of his own household far more difficult to manage than public affairs. Between his sternly virtuous wife Livia and his gaily profligate daughter Julia he was cruelly torn, and when on Agrippa's death he married Julia to Livia's eldest son he destroyed all hope of domestic peace. He was compelled to exile Julia under his own laws against adultery, he saw his grandsons die one after the other, and finally the succession passed from the Julian house into the hands of Tiberius.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE X

B.C.

31 Battle of Actium. Flight of Antony and Cleopatra to Egypt.
30 Octavian follows to Egypt. Death of Antony and Cleopatra. Annexation of Egypt.
29 Octavian returns to Italy, where Mæcenas has been in charge. Temple of Janus closed, the Republic being at peace.
28 Official restoration of Senate. Octavian assumes the title of Princeps Senatus. Reversal of all illegal Acts since 43 B.C.
27 Octavian formally resigns emergency powers but receives Proconsular "Imperium" for ten years, with title of Augustus.
Distribution of Provinces as Senatorial or Imperial. The latter are held by Augustus, and administered by the governors he appoints.
Formal reinstatement of the Republic; actual institution of an autocratic Principate.
Augustus goes to Gaul.
24 Augustus returns to Rome.
23 Augustus retires from the consulship, but receives the Tribunician Power which he holds permanently.
Death of Marcellus.
21 Marriage of Julia to Agrippa.
20 Augustus in Asia.
19 Agrippa in Spain. Settlement of Spain.
Death of Vergil.
18 Augustus confers Imperium and Tribunician Power on Agrippa.
17 Augustus adopts his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa and Julia.
16 Frontier wars. Gallic disaster of Lollius.
15 Campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus, the stepsons of Augustus, in Rhætia. Rhætia and Noricum made Provinces.
Birth of Germanicus (son of Drusus).
14 Agrippa in the East.
13 Agrippa sent to Pannonia.
12 Death of Agrippa. Birth of Agrippa Postumus.
9 Death of Drusus. Fourth Pannonian campaign of Tiberius.
Death of Mæcenas and Horace.
8 German campaign of Tiberius.
6 Tiberius goes into retirement, in Rhodes.
4 Death of Herod "the Great." Birth of Christ.
2 Disgrace and banishment of Julia.
1 Gaius Cæsar sent to the East.

A.D.

2 Tiberius summoned from Rhodes.
3 Ten years' extension of Proconsular Imperium.
4 On the death of Gaius Cæsar, Augustus adopts both Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus. Tiberius adopts Germanicus.
Third German Campaign of Tiberius.
5 Tiberius reaches the Elbe.
6-9 Pannonian wars of Tiberius.
9 End of Pannonian War.
Germans led by Armenius annihilate Varus and his legions.
10 Tiberius with Germanicus in Germany.
12 Birth of Gaius Cæsar, son of Germanicus.
13 Tiberius confirmed in Imperium and Tribunician Power.
Germanicus in command on the Rhine.
14 Death of Augustus. Tiberius emperor.
15 Germanicus defeats Arminius.
17 Germanicus recalled. Policy of imperial expansion definitely abandoned.
20 Extension of the Law of Majesty (Treason); growth of the delatores (informers).
Rise of Sejanus, the prætorian prefect.
23 Death of Drusus (Minor), son of Tiberius.
China: End of the First Han Dynasty.

A.D.

26 Tiberius withdraws to Capreæ. Sejanus supreme in Rome.
Pontius Pilate made procurator of Judæa.
29 Death of Livia Drusilla Augusta, mother of Tiberius and widow of Augustus.
31 Fall of Sejanus and extirpation of his family.
37 Death of Tiberius.
Accession of Gaius Claudius Cæsar (Caligula), son of Germanicus.
38 Birth of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus.
39 Caligula's Gallic and "Britannic" expeditions.
40 *Asia:* Approximate date of Kadphises I, Indo-Scythian king, at Kabul.
41 Assassination of Caligula. His uncle Tiberius Claudius Nero, brother of Germanicus, made emperor by the Prætorians.
42 Birth of Britannicus, son of Claudius.
43 Invasion of Britain by Aulus Plautius. Province of Britain created.
44 Death of Herod Agrippa.
47 Ostorius succeeds Plautius in Britain.
47-49 Caractacus maintains the British struggle in the west against the Romans.
48 Death of Messalina. Development of government through emperor's secretariat.
49 Claudius marries his niece, Agrippina, and adopts her son, who takes the name Nero.
50 Caractacus betrayed to Ostorius by Brigantes.
54 Death of Claudius. Accession of Nero.
54-59 Five years of quiet government under Seneca and Burrhus.
55 Britannicus dies; suspicions of poison.
59 Nero murders his mother.
Suetonius Paulinus governor of Britain.
61 Welsh campaign of Paulinus.
Revolt of the Iceni under Boadicea; revolt crushed by Paulinus.
62 Festus procurator of Judæa.
63 S. Paul at Rome.
64 Great Fire of Rome, attributed to Christians.
The Neronic Persecution.
65 Death of Seneca.
66 Great revolt of the Jews. Conduct of the Jewish war entrusted to Vespasian.
67 Nero in Greece. Romans scandalized.
Servius Sulpicius Galba plans revolt in Spain.
68 Galba marches on Rome. Flight and death of Nero (June). Galba emperor.
69 (Jan.) The legions on the Rhine proclaim Vitellius. The legions at Rome mutiny, murder Galba, and proclaim M. Salvius Otho. The troops of Vitellius invade Italy (April); defeat and death of Otho. Aulus Vitellius emperor. (July) The troops at Alexandria proclaim Vespasian. Defeat and death of Vitellius (Dec.).
70 Titus Flavius Vespasianus emperor.
Siege, sack, and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, elder son of Vespasian.
Vespasian's ten years' (70-79) rule of peace, retrenchment and reform inaugurated.
77 *India:* Kadphises II extends the Indo-Scythian power over the Ganges basin.
78-85 Cn. Julius Agricola, governor of Britain, organizes the province, and carries Roman arms over the Forth and the Tay.
79 Titus Flavius Vespasianus emperor.
Herculaneum and Pompeii buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius.
81 T. Flavius Domitianus emperor.
83 Futile German expedition of Domitian.
86 Disastrous expedition of Domitian to Dacia.
c.90 Severe persecution of the Christians.
96 Murder of Domitian. The Senate elect M. Cocceius Nerva emperor.
97 Nerva adopts Trajan, as successor.
98 Death of Nerva. Trajan emperor.

Chronicle X

THE SHAPING OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE: 31 B.C.—A.D. 98

THE battle of Actium was one of the decisive moments in the world's history. It left the reorganization of the world empire in the hands of one man who still had five-and-forty years of life before him in which to carry out that tremendous task.

The triumvirate powers had not been renewed for a third term, but Cæsar Octavian at Rome had been endowed afresh with extraordinary powers for an indefinite period, the equivalent of his uncle's official dictatorship. This was the authority on which he now continued to act. He passed nearly a year after Actium before turning to Egypt, where the seal was set on his victory by the suicide of Antony and Cleopatra.

The first step following was the annexation of Egypt, which Octavian took permanently into his own hands. The last independent kingdom west of the Euphrates, the granary of Italy, became Cæsar's appanage; and the entire Mediterranean littoral from end to end, with the exception only of Mauretania, which as against Rome was powerless, was now under Roman rule.

For nearly a year Octavian remained in the East, leaving the West in the competent hands of the diplomatic Mæcenas. The Senate had duly ratified his acts before his return to Rome in August, 29 B.C., when he celebrated several triumphs and signalized the restoration throughout the Empire of a peace long unknown by closing the temple of Janus. In the same year Mœsia, between Thrace and the Danube, was officially added to the provinces of the Empire.

The time, then, had at last arrived for Octavian to give convincing proof that public spirit, not ambition, was the motive of his life. In 27 he laid down his extraordinary powers. No one, of course, knew better than he that his retirement was impossible; he resigned his powers only that he might resume them in slightly different guise in constitutional form, in response to the urgent prayer of the Roman people, not of his own will as the master of legions.

THE titles conferred upon him were such as to concentrate attention not on his power and its bases but on his dignity, on the reverence he commanded from a grateful world. The Imperator is veiled in the Pater Patriæ, father of his country, Princeps, its first citizen, Cæsar Augustus—almost, but not as yet, divine. Henceforth we speak of him as Augustus.

The weakness of the imperial position—not in that of Augustus personally—lay in the absence of any law of succession to the imperial authority. Had fortune granted him sons of his own he would doubtless have succeeded in making the succession hereditary, but the sole immediate heir of his body was a daughter, Julia, and all but one of Julia's sons died before Augustus.

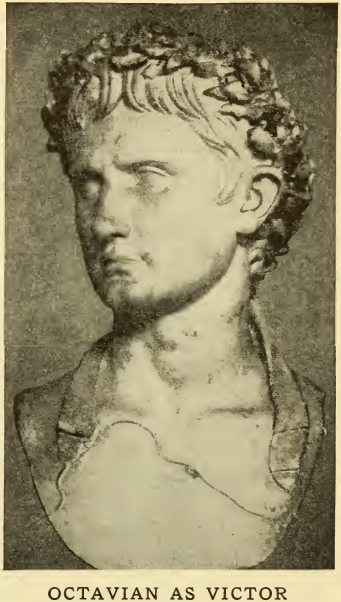
In spite of the closing of the Temple of Janus in 29 B.C., the Pax Romana, the Roman Peace, was not yet in fact established throughout the Empire; for the whole vast frontier line was constantly liable to attack from the miscellaneous barbarians surging upon it in Europe, and from the Parthians on the Euphrates; further, in remote parts of Spain and Gaul there were still tribes unreconciled to the Roman lordship. Aquitania, however, was brought to final submission in 27 B.C., the year from which the Principate of Augustus is dated. In the northwest of Spain the Asturians and Cantabrians maintained a gallant but vain struggle for freedom for many years. It was only when the task of subjugation and pacification had been entrusted to Agrippa the unfailing that the stubborn tribes made an honorable and permanent submission in 19 B.C. Otherwise the wars of Augustus in which Roman legions were engaged were all on or beyond the confines of the Empire, and were waged

against not subjects but miscellaneous foreign foes who were unsubmissive to the rule of the government at Rome.

The East gave no serious trouble. The small dependent kingdoms still surviving in eastern Asia Minor and in Syria were pacifically and gradually absorbed into the Roman provincial system. Parthia under Phraates had no desire to challenge a military struggle with Rome. The unavenged disaster of Carrhæ in 53 B.C., however, had always rankled in the Roman mind; so when in 20 B.C. a demand was made, and emphasized by a military demonstration in force, for the restitution of the captives and the standards which had been carried off from that fatal field, Phraates displayed his political wisdom by a ready acquiescence and perhaps even by an illusory form of submission which Roman poets were not slow to turn to account for the glorification of the Father in his Country.

On or beyond the European frontier, however, there were many campaigns. A German incursion across the Rhine defeated a Roman commander, Lollius, in 16 B.C., and called for the temporary presence of Augustus at the front, where he left the command in the hands of his step-son Drusus (38-9 B.C.), who was permitted to engage in an attempt to carry the Roman frontier up to the Weser or the Elbe. Drusus and his elder brother, Tiberius (42 B.C.-A.D. 37), had already been campaigning in Rætia, and the subjugation of the whole border belt on the south of the Danube had become a necessity. Drusus did in fact reach the Elbe before his premature death in 9 B.C., while Tiberius was establishing the Roman supremacy in Noricum and Pannonia, a task which occupied him for two years more. To Drusus had been accorded the complimentary title of Germanicus, which descended to the famous youthful son who is always known by that name.

Agrippa had been marked by his achievements as the man to whom the control of the empire would naturally pass if he outlived Augustus, at whose bidding he had married the daughter of the latter, Julia, in 21 B.C. But he died in 12 B.C., leaving by that marriage two daughters, Agrippina, who was later married to Germanicus, and Julia, who followed her mother's profligate example,



OCTAVIAN AS VICTOR

A fine bust of Octavian in the Glyptothek at Munich shows us a younger man than the "Augustus" statue on a preceding page. The head is crowned with oak leaves, in reference to the award of the Civic Crown.

Munich Glyptothek, courtesy of Dr. F. Stödtner

and two sons, Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. A third son, Agrippa Postumus, was born just after his death. Of these three grandsons of Augustus, the last was the only one who survived him.

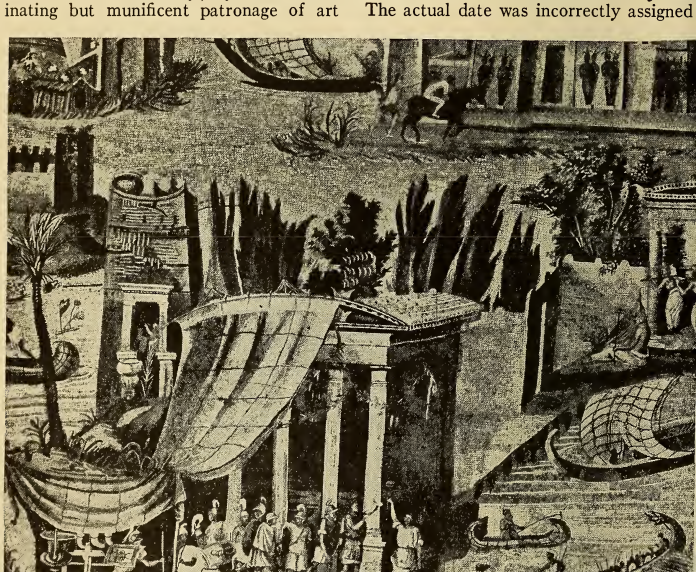
On the other hand, Tiberius (Claudius Nero) and Drusus (Claudius Nero) were, as has been remarked, stepsons of Augustus, the offspring of his very able and ambitious wife, Livia Drusilla, by her former husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero; though Drusus had actually been born after her marriage to Augustus in 37 B.C. The explanation of these family complications is somewhat wearisome, but is necessary to an understanding of the course actually taken by the imperial succession. The three next emperors were all in fact Claudii, though only the

third is known as Claudius, Cæsars (like Augustus himself) only by adoption.

AGRIPPA had done more than any other man to create and to stabilize the New Order; yet the stabilization owed hardly less to the very different work of the second of the great ministers of Augustus, Gaius Cilnius Mæcenas, who followed his colleague to the grave in 8 B.C. He rendered his services not as a state official but as a personal counselor and a social influence, guiding Augustus in the way he should go. He was supple, skillful and conciliatory; by his discriminating but munificent patronage of art and letters attracting to the support o the new régime all that was best as wel as all that was cleverest in the intellectua society of the capital.

Such was the outcome of twenty year of the Principate in 7 B.C., when Augustu stood alone and both of his great min isters were dead. Alone he was to stan for twenty-one years more.

The Christian world in a later ag adopted a chronological system whic reckons the years and centuries back wards and forwards from a supreme mo ment in the reign of Augustus, the humbl birth of a Babe in Bethlehem of Judæa The actual date was incorrectly assigned



SCENES OF EGYPTIAN PLENTY FROM A MOSAIC FOUND IN ITALY

Octavian, with the burden of the legions on his shoulders, recognized that Egypt was potentially the richest province of the Empire, and retained it as his personal appanage, instead of assigning it to the Senate. Its prosperity had woefully declined under the later Ptolemies, but he inaugurated a wise policy of economic reform; and the famous "Palestrina" (Præneste) mosaic suggests the prosperity of the land in early Imperial times. Above, a scene in the Delta during flood time.

Palazzo Baronale, Palestrina; photo, Alinari

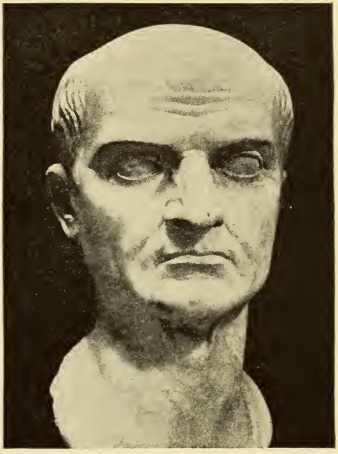
for at the time Herod, curiously entitled the "Great," was still the dependent king of Judæa; the year which we call 4 B.C. ought to have been named A.D. 1.

On the death of Drusus, the principal command of the frontier fell to Tiberius, whose campaigns had in 8 B.C. nominally completed the subjugation of Germany as far as the Elbe, and also of Pannonia. Very shortly, however, he went into retirement in the Island of Rhodes. The hopes of Augustus for the founding of a dynasty seemed to center in his two elder grandsons; both were introduced to public life at the earliest possible moment; but both died young (A.D. 2 and A.D. 4). He thereupon adopted the third brother, Agrippa Postumus—though the boy had shown no signs of either character or capacity—and also Tiberius, while displaying in a marked manner his personal dislike for both. At the same time Tiberius was compelled to adopt Germanicus, the elder son of his dead brother Drusus.

For some years Tiberius was employed on campaigns, in which his nephew was at times associated with him, for the most part either in south Germany against the Marcomanni or in the turbulent province of Pannonia. But while he was thus engaged in the south, there befell in north Germany the heaviest reverse to the Roman arms since the disaster of Carrhæ. Three Roman legions under Quintilius Varus were entangled in the Teutoberger-wald (Saltus Teutoburgiensis) between the Ems and the Weser—the precise position is uncertain—and annihilated by the Cherusci under the brilliant warrior known to the Romans as Arminius (A.D. 9).

The victory of Arminius was a turning point. The meaning of it was that the Roman Empire would never succeed in effectually establishing itself on the farther side of the Rhine and the Danube. Tiberius might—in fact he did—march through Germany as he had marched before, without meeting a serious check; but to subdue it and hold it was beyond the power of Rome at her mightiest.

Tiberius was presently recalled from his task of restoring the prestige of the Roman arms in Germany, where the command was left in the hands of young Germanicus, who was as popular as his uncle was the reverse. Had Germanicus



MÆCENAS, PATRON OF THE ARTS

As Agrippa was Augustus' most trusted minister for the more active kinds of government, so Mæcenas (died 8 B.C.) managed internal affairs for him. It is interesting to note that he was of Etruscan parentage on both sides.

Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome; photo, Alinari

been afflicted with political ambitions he might have been a dangerous rival, but his heart was in the camp. The young Agrippa was impossible—probably quite incapable. And the disadvantages in the position of Tiberius were counter-balanced by the fact that he already shared, though as a subordinate to Augustus, a large part of the exceptional powers bestowed upon the Princeps.

Therefore when at last the old man died in A.D. 14 it was a matter of course that the Senate, still the nominal governing body, should petition Tiberius to accept the succession, and that he should do so, though with a show of reluctance not wholly fictitious.

Tiberius reigned for twenty-three years. The picture of that reign irresistibly impressed on our minds by the great Roman historian Tacitus, who was born some twenty years after it ended, is lurid and repulsive; nor can it be doubted that in certain of its aspects the reign was lurid and repulsive in actual fact. Neverthe-

AUGUSTUS THRONED AS GOD BUT PATHETIC IN THE LONELINESS OF AGE

During his latter years Augustus stood alone, his direct descendants dead before him, save for one weak-minded youth. He was forced to turn to Tiberius, son of his wife Livia by an earlier marriage, whom he disliked personally but who was unquestionably able. This famous sardonyx cameo shows Augustus throned as a god beside "Roma," while Tiberius, on the left, steps from a triumphal car in reference to his Pannonian victories. At the head of his horses stands the young Germanicus.

Vienna Museum; photo, Giraudon

less there is evidence that it assuredly had another side.

As under Augustus, the Empire at large enjoyed peace and prosperity, showing no signs of general disaffection. The provincial system worked under Tiberius, as it had worked under his predecessors, very much better than the old senatorial system; governors who were continued in office during good behavior were more disposed to do their duty by the governed than men who held for a year a post out of which they had every temptation to extract the utmost possible profit in the shortest possible time with a minimum of risk; Tiberius was deaf to the beguilements of vested interests, popular agitation, or family influences. Therefore, in so far as the Empire was concerned, the reign of Tiberius confirmed and made permanent the work of Augustus. The organization was brought into such sound condition that it survived the blighting influences of Tiberius himself, the madness of Caligula, the feebleness of Claudius and the crimes of Nero.

But though no little ability, insight and resolution were needed to face imperial problems as Tiberius faced them, agitators, vested interests and upholders of the airstocratic tradition united in denouncing the man who in the eyes of the

moralists was an epitome of evil, and a veritable well-spring of social corruption.

Apart from hard drinking, however, we hear nothing of the emperor's addiction to animal vices till after his retirement to Capreæ in the twelfth year of his rule (A.D. 26), when he was nearing seventy; it is at least easy to suspect that by that time his brain had become not unhinged but diseased. The charges brought against him by the voice of popular scandal by plotting and procuring the deaths of prominent persons whose ambitions he chose to suspect were never substantiated and were sometimes in themselves improbable.

There was undeniable statesmanship in his conduct of the affairs of the Empire outside Italy. He maintained on the whole a respectable standard in the provincial governments; and his own personal experience beyond the borders of the Empire had taught him the soundness of the testamentary advice of Augustus that the borders of the dominion should not be extended.

In domestic affairs, the establishment of the personal supremacy of the monarch was the fundamental necessity. Like all monarchs similarly situated, whose personal prestige was insufficient to secure the needful authority, he made it his definite policy to repress the nobles and such of his own kin as were potentially dangerous, and to conduct the administration through creatures of his own; while even the semblance of political power was withdrawn from the "people" in general, who had already come to mean no more than the populace of the capital. Even in this field he did in the main achieve his object; but it was at the cost of his reputation both for justice and for insight; and he paid the penalty in leaving behind him a name which was universally execrated by many historians.

As a result, the greater part of the history of the reign seems to resolve itself into a record of personal scandals. In its first pages, something of the halo of romance attaches to the young Germanicus, the darling of the legions in the North, who would have tried to set him in the place of Tiberius if they could have won his own consent. But his heart was vainly set on the conquest of Germany, where he succeeded in retrieving the prestige of the Roman

TIBERIUS ON A FAMOUS CAMEO

If the morose Tiberius on his accession (A.D. 14-37) proved a suspicious tyrant to the upper-class Romans, he was an admirable ruler of the Empire as a whole. And doubtless the stories of his debauches at Capreæ, which we owe to his political enemies, have been much exaggerated. Above, Tiberius and his family; in the heavens, the deified Augustus.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon

CALIGULA THE MADMAN

Tiberius was succeeded by the young son of Germanicus, Gaius nicknamed Caligula. His reign (37-41) opened with such promise that it is only reasonable to attribute his later excesses to madness, following a severe illness.
The Louvre

arms and inflicting a heavy defeat on Arminius. But his military career was cut short by his recall, in A.D. 17, when he was dispatched to the East. While in the East he died in circumstances which gave some slight color to the popular belief that his death had been designed, or at least connived at, by Tiberius, and his memory was cherished as a victim of the emperor's jealousy.

On the other hand, Ælius Sejanus is the accepted type of the vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself. Succeeding to his father's position as Prefect of the Prætorian Guards, the "household troops" station in Italy, he wormed himself at a very early stage into the confidence of Tiberius, procured the concentration of the Guard, whose units had heretofore been scattered, in a permanent camp close to the capital under his own command, and established in the mind of Tiberius a firm conviction that in the Guard and their trusty prefect lay the sole security of the Princeps against the machinations of hydra-headed treason. For further security he induced Tiberius, in A.D. 26, to bury himself in the isle of Capreæ (Capri) surrounded by the instruments of debauchery, leaving Rome and the exercise of the imperial functions in the hands of the unscrupulous favorite; while decent folk could find safety only in obscurity, or escape from the nightmare by resorting to suicide.

Undoubtedly the aim of Sejanus was to make himself secure, murder Tiberius, and seize the imperial authority, relying on the Prætorians. But in spite of his precautions the old man's suspicions were at last aroused. In A.D. 31 a messenger, Macro, came from Capreæ to the Senate with a secret commission which transferred to him from Sejanus the command of the Prætorians. The doomed man was completely hoodwinked. All unsuspected, Macro took over the command of the soldiers and made his dispositions. The Senate was assembled; the long preamble of the letters was read; the blow was reserved for the conclusion. Sejanus was to be deprived of all his offices and arrested for treason. With him his kith and kin were exterminated, even to his eight-year-old daughter.

For the last eleven years of the life of Tiberius, the years during which he was sunk in the iniquities of Capreæ, Pontius Pilate was procurator or lieutenant-governor of Judæa, while Herod Antipas (the slayer of John the Baptist), one of the brood of Herod the Great, reigned in the North. This is all that may be fitly said in this place of the Crucifixion: an event whose significance was wholly unsuspected for so long that Tacitus after seventy years was content to say of it no more than that "Chrestus" was the originator of a most pernicious superstition among the Jews, and had suffered the extreme penalty of the law under "one of our procurators," Pontius Pilate.

THE fall of Sejanus served only to relieve the nightmare, not to dissipate it. For six more years Tiberius remained at Capreæ; at the last he was murdered (A.D. 37) by that Macro who had been his instrument in the fall of Sejanus. So at least it was affirmed by common rumor, which later associated with him in the crime the young prince whom Tiberius had adopted as his personal heir, and

whose succession to the principate was assured—Gaius Cæsar, whom all men call by his childhood's nickname Caligula. As the son of Germanicus he was certain of the support of the soldiery and the populace; there was no rival to set up against him, for his uncle Claudius, the younger brother of Germanicus, was without ambition and was reputed to be feeble-minded, while Gaius was credited with all his father's virtues. He was therefore forthwith acclaimed Princeps.

For the moment it seemed that better days were in store. Much was to be hoped from a prince who was young, popular and generous; who began his reign by liberating prisoners, recalling exiles, publicly burning incriminating documents, and flinging himself zealously into the unaccustomed business of administration. But after a few months Caligula fell ill, and he rose from his sickness in effect a madman; bereft of all moral sense but not of that distorted but occasionally acute intelligence which accompanies some forms of mania. This new nightmare was even more terrible than that which had passed.

Caligula was possessed with the idea of his own divinity. He slew, it might be with some definite reason, it might be merely because he had the fancy to slay, whether from blood-lust or as a mere demonstration of power. A sister died; none might mourn her death, for she was a goddess, but none might therefore rejoice, for she was dead. He inaugurated magnificent public works, and forgot them when the fancy passed. He resolved to conquer Britain, gathered his army of invasion at Boulogne, and then set the men to gather shells on the shore, and these he sent to Rome as the spoils of the conquered Ocean. He returned to Rome threatening slaughter because the Senate had not been sufficiently zealous in preparing for him a magnificent triumph—and there Cassius Chærea, an officer of the prætorians at whom he had gibed, summoned

EMPEROR IN SPITE OF HIMSELF

Germanicus had a brother, Claudius, who was regarded as a witless recluse. After the murder of Caligula he was dragged forth by the soldiers and hailed as Cæsar; and, though weak, proved a better emperor (41-54) than might have been expected.

Vatican Museum; photo, Anderson

up courage to assassinate him, with the aid of a few companions, in the fifth year of his crazed reign (A.D. 41).

For the moment the assassins escaped. As the news spread, the Senate gathered in haste. While they debated, the Guards took matters into their own hands. A company of them, tramping about the deserted palace, dragged a new Cæsar from behind a curtain where he was hiding, carried him off to the camp, where he was promptly hailed as Imperator, and marched back to the Senate, who had no choice but to obey their mandate. Thus was greatness thrust upon the alarmed and reluctant Claudius, the almost forgotten brother of Germanicus, who all his life had passed for a half-witted but harmless student.

The soldiers had chosen better than they knew. Claudius was at least extremely conscientious; his intentions were excellent, and his political theory, if derived wholly from books, was intelligent.

MOTHER OF THE TYRANT NERO

Agrippina the Younger, unlike her mother, was cruel and licentious. After marrying Claudius she secured the succession for her son by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus—Nero; for whom she was virtually regent until A.D. 59.

Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

ROME'S WORST EMPEROR

Nero was one of the few emperors who seem to have completely deserved their evil reputation. Born in A.D. 37, he was only seventeen when he succeeded; and his descent from the profligate, unbalanced Julia must also be borne in mind.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari

CLAUDIUS was already fifty years old when he began his reign (A.D. 41-A.D. 54). Throughout the period the Empire enjoyed general prosperity and there were few complaints from the provinces. Within the Empire the practice of extending full Roman citizenship to favored communities was actively developed. But the signal achievement of the reign was the organized conquest of south Britain and its conversion into a Roman Province.

In A.D. 43, 97 years after the second expedition of Julius Cæsar, a fully appointed and efficiently organized army of conquest landed in Kent under the command of Aulus Plautius. The country from the Channel to the Tyne was at this time divided among a score or more of tribal kingdoms or confederacies, some of which acknowledged a queen as their head. A general supremacy over the sub-kings of the southeast had long been held by the Catuvellaunian Cunobellinus (Cymbeline), who had recently been succeeded

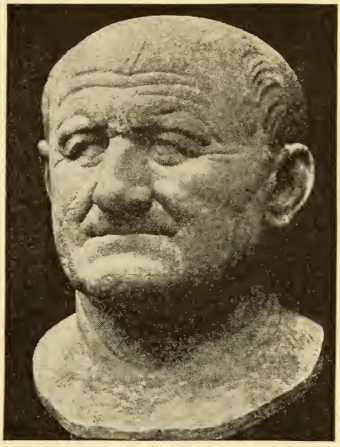
by his son Caradoc, more familiarly known to us as Caractacus or Caratacus, the Roman version of his name. It was not without hard fighting that Plautius drove the Britons over the Thames and forced the passage of the river; after which he waited for Claudius himself with some reinforcements to take the field and claim the honors of the inevitable victory which secured the Roman supremacy and the formal submission of most of the chiefs of the southeast. Roman military headquarters were presently established at Camulodunum (Colchester).

CARACTACUS, however, escaped to the West, roused the tribes on the Welsh border, and maintained so stubborn a resistance that his forces were only shattered finally in a great engagement in A.D. 50 by Ostorius, who had succeeded Plautius. Meanwhile an officer of great ability but of humble birth, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, (A.D. 9-A.D. 79), who was destined himself to wear the purple, had subjugated the South, westward as far as the Exe and the Severn, and a Roman frontier had been established from the Severn to the Wash.

Even now the valiant spirit of Caractacus had not been broken, though his wife and children had been captured. He escaped again, to the North. But he failed to win over the Brigantes, whose cautious queen preferred to seize him and hand him over in chains to the Romans in 51. It is, however, to the credit of Claudius that when the brave captive was sent to Rome he was granted an honorable liberty, though he never returned to his native land.

The emperor's honest zeal for good government was displayed by an active attention to the law courts which the regular lawyers found embarrassing. But unhappily the feature of the reign most conspicuous to the public eye, and at the same time most offensive to public sentiment, was the influence exercised over him by the freedmen, for the most part Greeks, who won his confidence, and by the successive wives who plotted against his honor and his authority while they fooled him as they pleased.

ROMAN society was mainly divided between profligates and puritans;



BLUNT SOLDIER-EMPEROR

The accession of Vespasian (70-79) marks a turning point in the history of the Principate. After the confusion of the conflict between Otho and Vitellius, he was elected emperor, not in Rome, but in the East, and by the army.
Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

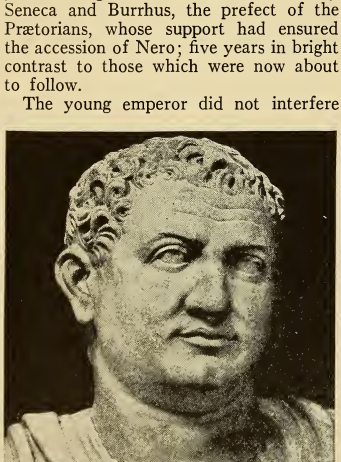
but the profligacy of Messalina, the wife of Claudius when he became emperor, disgusted even that society, while it gibed at the besotted blindness of her husband until matters reached such a pass that even his eyes were opened, and she met the death she deserved in A.D. 48. The place she vacated was secured by the emperor's ambitious niece—Agrippina the younger—sister of Caligula, widow of Domitius Ahenobarbus, the mother of the young Nero, for whom she was determined to capture the succession.

Claudius was the putative father of a son who had been named Britannicus, born to Messalina in 42, so the first step was to make him adopt Nero, who was three years the elder. Agrippina was a very clever woman who pursued her ends with a perfect tenacity and an entire absence of scruple. In the training of her son she sowed the wind—and she reaped the whirlwind. At first her husband was brought completely under her influence; she had gained her position in alliance with the favorite Pallas; for

a time all seemed to go well with her plans. Then other influences began to predominate; there were signs that the old man was inclining to Britannicus rather than Nero. Agrippina took counsel with one Locusta, a woman who bore an evil reputation as an expert in poisons; and Claudius died suddenly. Nero, not Britannicus, was hailed emperor (A.D. 54).

The new emperor, a Domitius by birth, had received the name by which he is known and execrated, one borne generally by the Claudii, on his adoption by Claudius. He was now sixteen; of his character little was known; he had been highly educated, and his tutor was a famous philosopher and writer, Lucius Annæus Seneca (c. 5 B.C.-A.D. 65); but his mother was Agrippina. For five years the government was directed by Seneca and Burrhus, the prefect of the Prætorians, whose support had ensured the accession of Nero; five years in bright contrast to those which were now about to follow.

The young emperor did not interfere with the business of government. Britannicus died in circumstances sufficiently suspicious to give color to the usual rumors, but that was all. A breach, however, widened between the ministers and Agrippina, who found her influence with her son slipping away, and tried to recover it by methods which only made the young man resent it the more. He became infatuated by a mistress, Poppæa Sabina, who hated Agrippina, and in 59 Nero murdered his mother.



TITUS THE MAGNIFICENT

Elder son of Vespasian, Titus (79-81), in spite of his short reign, was one of the most popular of the emperors. He united clemency and moderation with almost Oriental magnificence, in contrast with the parsimony of his father.

National Museum, Naples; photo, Anderson

For nine years Nero reigned as an unqualified tyrant, and then for eighteen months generals from Spain, from Gaul and from Syria fought for the imperial succession, which finally fell to the plebeian but very capable Vespasian, whose services in the subjugation of southern Britain have already been noted; three other emperors having risen and fallen again during this year and a half.

The reign of Nero saw the confirmation of the Roman dominion in Britain from the Channel to the Dee and the Wash, by the campaigns of Suetonius Paulinus in Wales, and by the crushing of the great revolt of the Iceni in the eastern area under their queen Boadicea. Still more familiar is the story of the Great Fire of A.D. 64, when half Rome was burned to the ground while Nero, as men said, gave himself up to the emotional joys of the thrilling dramatic moment, and then sought to recover his popularity with the mob by illuminating his gardens with a public display of burning Christians; on the pretense that those incomprehensible and therefore formidable Jewish fanatics had set fire to Rome. At length the cup brimmed over, and the old soldier Servius Sulpicius Galba (5 B.C.-A.D. 68) "whom all men counted fit to rule—had he not ruled," raised the standard of revolt in his province of Hither Spain in 67-8.

Galba, a rigid old warrior, marched on Italy. Nero found himself deserted on all sides, and sought refuge in an ignominious death barely in time to escape capture. Galba was hailed emperor, but displayed an injudicious niggardliness to the soldiery, who in consequence transferred their allegiance to Marcus Salvius Otho, once the complaisant spouse of Poppæa, and Galba was slain (January, 69) after a reign of six months. But the legions of the Rhine preferred their own

NATURAL DEATH CAST OF A VICTIM OF VESUVIUS

Many of those who met their death at Pompeii left a perfect mould of their contours in the mud and scoriac dust that formed their shroud: and it has been found possible to take plaster casts, gruesome and pathetic, of bodies that mouldered away more than eighteen hundred years ago.

commander Vitellius, for no better reason than the fact that he was their commander; and carrying him with them they marched on Italy. Meanwhile in the East Vespasian and his senior officer Mucianus, with their troops, decided that Vespasian himself should accede to the emperorship.

The lieutenants of Vitellius defeated Otho's troops at Bedriacum; Otho duly committed suicide. Vitellius entered Rome and assumed the purple while Vespasian was being proclaimed in Egypt and Syria. The troops in Illyricum sided with the latter, whose lieutenant Antonius Primus defeated the forces of Vitellius in the second battle at Bedriacum and marched on Rome. The final scenes are somewhat nauseous. In the end, Vitellius, whose most marked characteristic was a repulsive gluttony, found himself deserted, was dragged from hiding and was hacked or beaten to death (December, A.D. 69). Vespasian himself arrived in Italy in the following year; but in the meanwhile he was represented by his younger son Domitian (51-96): his lieutenants were loyal; there was no rival or possible rival on the scene; Rome only craved for the anarchy to end; and his full and formal recognition as emperor was a foregone conclusion.

THE vices and extravagances of Roman society had no attraction for the economical soul of Vespasian; in his own household he set an example of simplicity or parsimony which reacted upon society at large, so that simplicity came into fashion. He scoffed at the intellectual refinements and affectations of his sons; but he knew quite well that they had a social value.

He was not picturesque, but he was effective, and he gave the Empire, and above all Italy, the heart of the Empire, that peace and order which had been so rudely shaken by the clash of civil strife; he restored the sense of personal security which had been perishing under the latter emperors; and he gave a new stability to the imperial system.

TWO episodes at the beginning of Vespasian's ten years' reign (A.D. 69-79) demand attention. When he resolved to make his bid for empire, he was engaged in suppressing a great rebellion of the Jews. Consequently, when he moved from the East he left the completion of the task in the hands of his elder son, Titus. Jerusalem fell after a prolonged defense in September, A.D. 70. The Jewish people were depatriated and dispersed, and the event was commemorated in Rome by erecting the Arch of Titus.

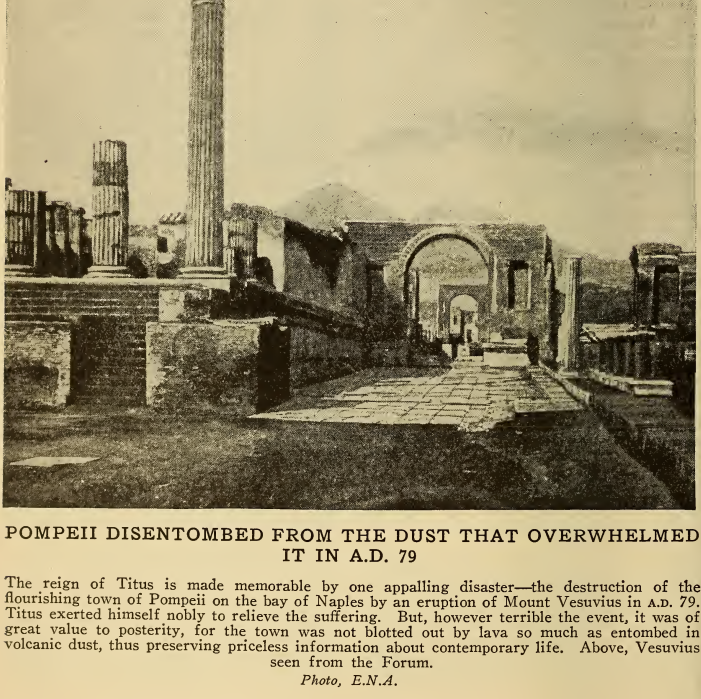
The second event was the revolt or mutiny of Civilis on the Rhine. Civilis himself was a Batavian Gaul, but like multitudes of the Gauls a full Roman citizen and a legionary officer. When Civilis saw the legions making and unmaking emperors, he saw also his opportunity for setting up an independent Gallic empire by means of the armies on the Rhine. The attempt failed, mainly because the Gaulish legionaries remained loyal to Rome and the general population stood inert; but it met with sufficient initial success to call for its suppression by Mucianus (accompanied by the emperor's younger son, Domitian), a subsequent rectification of the strategic frontier, and the substitution of foreign for native auxilia quartered on the Rhine.

Titus had been for some years formally associated with his father as imperator, and succeeded him as a matter of course in A.D. 79. He reigned for only two years,

long enough to win a lasting reputation, hardly expected at the time of his accession, for clemency and generosity. He was Emperor at the time of an appalling calamity for which there had been no precedent, the utter obliteration of the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii by an eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.

Leaving no son, he was succeeded by his brother Domitian (A.D. 81-96), who left to posterity a reputation as foul as that of Titus was fair. The satires of Juvenal and the epigrams of Martial give a most unsavory impression of the Rome of that day, but the satirist can seldom paint a picture that is wholly true, since he necessarily concentrates on the evil and ignores the good that he sees. From the known characters of eminent men of the time—Agricola, Tacitus, Pliny—we know that it had become entirely possible to be neither profligate nor puritan without being in the least singular.

The most creditable feature of the reign was the Britannic governorship of Gnæus Julius Agricola (A.D. 37-93), for which Domitian was not responsible, though his jealousy terminated it prematurely in 85. Agricola, appointed to Britain in 78 by Vespasian, not only advanced the permanently effective frontier to the line from Solvay to Tyne, but partly subjugated the lowlands of Caledonia, planted forts from Forth to Clyde, penetrated into the



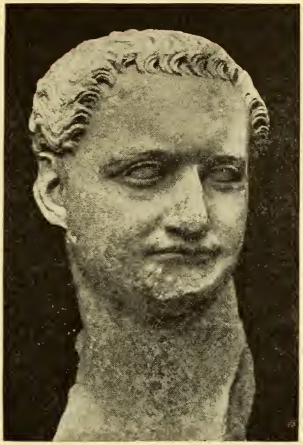
POMPEII DISENTOMBED FROM THE DUST THAT OVERWHELMED IT IN A.D. 79

The reign of Titus is made memorable by one appalling disaster—the destruction of the flourishing town of Pompeii on the bay of Naples by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Titus exerted himself nobly to relieve the suffering. But, however terrible the event, it was of great value to posterity, for the town was not blotted out by lava so much as entombed in volcanic dust, thus preserving priceless information about contemporary life. Above, Vesuvius seen from the Forum.

Photo, E.N.A.

Highlands, and inflicted a heavy defeat on the northern clans. His administration of the province, moreover, gives him high rank amongst the best of Roman provincial governors.

Domitian excited less terror but hardly less disgust in his latter years than Nero. Rome endured him with growing anxiety and displeasure, but only one revolt was attempted. Lucius Antonius Saturninus, a distinguished officer in command of two legions on the Rhine, tried to follow the example of Galba, and had the warm support of his men, but in 91 was promptly overthrown by a loyalist officer. The only effect of the rebellion was to increase the suspicions and fears of the Emperor and intensify the worst traits in his character. Bad as he was, no one wanted a renewal of armed contests for the position of Emperor. But, as in the case of Caligula, the third and last ruler of the Flavian house was slain (A.D. 96) by an assassin who had no political object in view, and who was a freedman of his own household.



DOMITIAN THE OPPRESSOR

Unsuccessful in war, of the most doubtful personal morals, cruel and oppressive towards the end of his reign, Domitian (81-96), brother of Titus, yet showed himself a not incapable ruler.

Museo Communale, Rome; photo, Alinari

THEORETICALLY the prerogatives of a new emperor were accorded to him constitutionally by the Senate, though the Senate had repeatedly found itself reduced to endorsing the dictate of the soldiery. But now there was no ambitious general at the gates, and the Senate could and did assert its constitutional authority without let. It proceeded immediately to the appointment of a new Cæsar, and, to assert the civil as opposed to the military character of the authority the more emphatically, it chose a purely civilian member of its own body, Marcus Cocceius Nerva (A.D. 32-98), of an old Roman family which for some generations had been established in Crete; a Roman of the old Roman blood, but a provincial Roman. It was a new departure, significant of the new imperial idea.

Nerva was not a born ruler of men, but he was a man of lofty character, wise and courageous. There was an immediate end of the grievances that had been growing up under Domitian. But he also faced facts and realized the fundamental weaknesses of the situation. An old man, he had no heir, and the power of the Principate rested on the army. In the choice of his successor lay Rome's destiny. Therefore Nerva took it upon himself to nominate his successor.

The very able general now commanding on the Rhine was Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (A.D. 52-117), like Nerva himself a provincial Roman whose family had long been settled in Spain. In 97 the emperor adopted Trajan as his heir, and associated the general with himself in the full imperial authority. The choice was made acceptable by Trajan's already high reputation; it gave immediate promise of security, since he was in the full vigor of manhood; it ensured the loyalty of the soldiery, and it was more than justified by the event. The nomination was Nerva's legacy to the Empire, and in the next year, A.D. 98, he died.

THE NEW IMPERIAL IDEA

HOW THE ROMAN STATE WAS ADAPTED BY THE GENIUS OF ONE MAN TO MEET THE PROBLEMS OF A NEW AGE

JOSEPH WELLS

Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, 1913-27; Author of 'A Short History of Rome,' etc.

THE great contribution of Rome to the civilization of the world was the conception of *Imperium*—that is, the authority—reaching even to control of life and death, vested in the magistrate, who was at once the representative of the people and also the inheritor of the almost sacramental power of those who had been magistrates before him. The Republic was failing long before it was superseded by the Empire; during its last half century of authority five times at least it had been found necessary to concentrate all powers in a single hand, because the Senate was unable to perform the functions of government.

It is from the year 23 B.C. that the imperial idea, as held by Augustus, takes definite shape. In that year the emperor declined to be again elected consul, but received the proconsular power (*proconsulare imperium*) for life, while the tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*), which he already held for life, was given to him in a new form, so that it is from this year that he dates it in all his inscriptions. The highest civil powers were given him in virtue of this "power as tribune"; holding it, he represented the popular element in the government; his person was "sacred," he could propose laws, he could veto the proposals of anyone else. Thus the emperor was indisputably supreme arbiter of and in control of all home affairs, and Augustus and his successors dated their regnal years by their tribunician power.

Control of foreign affairs was given by the grant of proconsular powers, which, though the title "Proconsul" was voted for life, were renewed from time to time for Augustus, five times in all, because in theory they were exceptional. But the grant was a mere form from the first, and to the successors of Augustus they were voted on accession once for all.

When speaking of the powers of the new monarch, it is natural to deal first with the army; for, however much Augustus might wish to conceal the truth, it was the army which had made Julius Caesar master of Rome, and Augustus himself by the victories of his army kept this position.

With the important exception of the Praetorian Guards, to be spoken of shortly, the Roman army was kept on the frontiers, and it was now put on a permanent footing. Under the Republic the armies had been in theory enrolled for a campaign, or a series of campaigns, and though they might continue to exist as a force for years, they were supposed to be dissolved when the war was over. Under Augustus the army became a definite force, its strength being fixed originally at eighteen legions, which he afterwards increased to twenty-five or twenty-six. At the same time a normal limit of military service was fixed, and a distinct treasury established, out of which the pensions of the legionaries could be paid.

Nor was this the least important of the remedial measures adopted by Augustus; the imperial army kept back the tide of barbarism completely for at least two centuries, and for two centuries more it at any rate held its own, in spite of barbarian raids and occasional defeats. The importance of these four centuries for the establishment of Latin civilization in Gaul and in Spain, not to mention the civilizing of the minor provinces, cannot be over-estimated; still more important is the fact that under the protection of the "Pax Romana" Christianity was able to conquer the Old World.

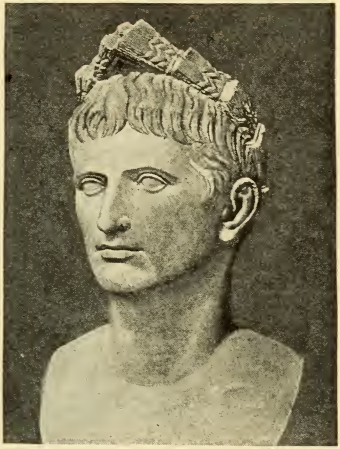
The importance of the Praetorian Guards cannot be exaggerated, for they were, above all else, the symbol of what the new government really was, and they were soon to become the most important element in its continuance. Under the Republic armies had been raised in Italy, but never kept there; they marched to the provinces, and returned only to be disbanded. But during the last century of the Republic the increased importance of the commanders had required for their protection a special corps; this had been gradually increased till, in the Civil Wars of the first century B.C., the "Guards" of the rival leaders became an important part of their forces.

On restoring the Republic in 27 B.C., Augustus obtained leave to keep his Guards in Italy, though the legions were sent back to the provinces or disbanded. The retention of the Guards on the soil of the governing country showed, to all who could see beneath the surface, that the new government was a "military tyranny," and they themselves became a determining factor in arranging the succession of the emperors.

While considering the civil functions of the emperor, we must speak first of his judicial power. It is important to observe that to the emperor, as the head of the state and the representative of the sovereign people, lay the right of appeal from all parts of the Roman world; St. Paul's "appeal to Caesar" is familiar to all. It is certain that this power of the emperor as supreme judge was abused in the punishment of senators; the Imperial Senate paid the penalty for the scandalous partiality which had marked the later Republican Senate in dealing with criminals of their own order.

Under Augustus, another branch also of judicial power, as enjoyed by the emperor, is unimportant, though it begins in his time—at least, in part. The emperor appointed a prefect of the city with the right of summary jurisdiction, for the maintenance of order. This power, too, became very important later.

A second instance of divided authority in the civil administration was in the control of finance. While the old state treasury, the *aerarium,* continued to be under the management of the Senate and its officers, a new imperial treasury, the *fiscus,* was set up alongside of it. Into



AUGUSTUS WITH CIVIC CROWN

Among the special honors bestowed on Augustus it was decreed that a civic crown —the oak wreath conferred as a military reward for saving a Roman citizen's life in battle—should be suspended from the top of his house.

The Vatican

this went the revenues of the imperial provinces, and out of it was defrayed the cost of the army. As the imperial treasury was managed by picked men, the emperor's own choices, while the senatorial treasury was under senatorial officers, elected largely on political grounds and changing annually, it is not surprising that the emperor had frequently to come to the financial help of the Senate.

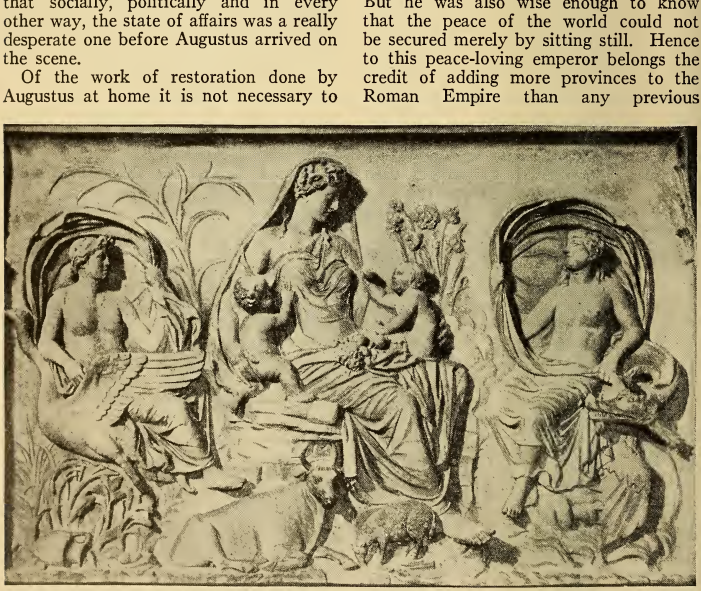
In theory the Senate was a partner with the emperor in government, and it was at first arranged that it should have the control of its own provinces, and also of the administration of Rome and of Italy. In practice, however, even under Augustus, these administrative rights at home began to decline, because the Senate was continually failing to carry them out. Augustus established permanently a fire brigade for Rome (the "Vigiles"), a body which, with its military organization, soon was found to be

important for other purposes besides that for which it was originally established. He had also to set up a prefect to see that Rome was adequately supplied with corn (*annona*), a most important function when it is remembered that the Roman proletariat had to be fed if it was to be kept in good humor. And outside Rome the emperor had to appoint special commissioners to keep in order the great Roman roads, which started from the capital in all directions and were continued through the provinces.

So, even under Augustus, the original idea of the Empire had begun to be modified; it will be seen later how terribly it was altered during the first century of its existence. But it must now be shown how great a success was achieved under it, and how necessary a change of government was, for it must be realized that socially, politically and in every other way, the state of affairs was a really desperate one before Augustus arrived on the scene.

Of the work of restoration done by Augustus at home it is not necessary to speak in much detail. The justifiable boast of the emperor that he "found Rome brick and left it marble" refers to the work begun in 33 B.C., with the aedileship of his faithful minister, Agrippa, who, with true Roman thoroughness, repaired the drains, improved the aqueducts and put the temples in proper repair. The emperor also had the slave system of Italy carefully examined, and reformed the *ergastula,* the quarters (which provided worse accommodation than the prisons) where the wretched slaves had been kept. Later he did what could be done by law to check grave immorality, to restore marriage to its proper honor and to encourage family life.

Wisely Augustus saw that Rome needed peace, and the Altar of Peace, voted by the Senate in 13 B.C., is the great symbol that the Empire stood for this. But he was also wise enough to know that the peace of the world could not be secured merely by sitting still. Hence to this peace-loving emperor belongs the credit of adding more provinces to the Roman Empire than any previous



IMPERIAL IDEALS OF AUGUSTUS REPRESENTED IN ALLEGORY

On each side of the two entrances to Augustus's Altar of Peace in Rome were allegorical bas-reliefs; one of them (shown here) depicted Mother Earth, with personifications of kindly breezes on either hand.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photos, Alinari and Brogi

PRAETORIAN GUARDS ON PARADE

In the Civil Wars of the first century B.C. the rival commanders each had his guard of picked veterans. Under the Empire the number of praetorian cohorts varied from nine to sixteen, commanded in the name of the emperor by a 'praefectus praetorio.' They were the real basis of imperial rule.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

Roman, and of pacifying and organizing completely what his predecessors had incompletely won.

First, he completed the circle of Roman dominion in the Mediterranean by annexing Egypt. This country was not made a province, but became part of the private property of the emperor (the "Patrimonium Caesaris"). Its immense resources were at his disposal, and from its harvests came a third of the corn of Rome.

This annexation was carried out immediately after the battle of Actium, before the Empire was definitely organized. When this first task was accomplished at home, Augustus at once proceeded to his second duty, the final conquest and the settlement of Spain and Gaul. In Spain the stubborn Cantabri were transferred from the rugged northern corner of the peninsula to the plains in the south-east; and in Gaul the south-west region was finally reduced, and the Rhine frontier on the north-east definitely established. The work, as far as Gaul was concerned, was crowned by the introduction of the worship of the emperor at Lyons (Lugdunum) in 12 B.C. It can be truly said that the foundations of modern France were laid with the imperial altar at Lyons.

In the East, Augustus was confronted with a different task. The Roman arms in that quarter had been disgraced at Carrhae, when Crassus lost his army and his life (52 B.C.). The emperor by judicious diplomacy obtained the restoration of the standards which had there been taken by the Parthians, and established a *modus vivendi* which made the Euphrates, broadly speaking, the frontier between the two great powers. During the first century of the Empire, in spite of constant quarrels, actual hostilities were avoided in this region.

But on the Roman side of the Euphrates there were large territories which were nominally independent of Rome. Augustus appointed over these a number of dependent kings, generally Hellenized orientals, who gradually introduced Roman ideas among their subjects. The position of the Herod family in Palestine affords a good instance of this policy. It failed with the Jews, for their patriotism, supported by their religious enthusiasm, made them stubbornly resist Romanization. The siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus and the terrible massacres that followed the revolt

of Bar Kokhba in the second century were the result; as the Jews could not be assimilated by the Romans they were wiped out so far as their native land was concerned. But the other dependent principedoms of Augustus passed in the course of the next century quietly into the Roman Empire: Commagene, Little Armenia and Pontus are examples.

Rome's real danger, however, lay not in the east or south, but in the north; it had been averted to some extent by the victories of Julius Caesar, who had settled once and for all that the Rhine and not the Alps should be the limit of Latin civilization; but his work in Gaul had not been completed, and, farther east, the Danube valley was still inhabited by tribes of independent barbarians, and the passes of modern Switzerland were all in their hands, in whole or in part.

Augustus had begun the work of conquest in this direction before he became emperor, and when the organization of the provinces of the Republic was complete, he initiated a progressive policy, as well planned as it was bold. The centre knot of the Alps was first reduced, and, strange to say, two campaigns (16 and 15 B.C.) were enough to secure this commanding position, both Switzerland and the Tirol being secured. No doubt much of the success was due to the fact that work was found at once for the warlike mountaineers by enlisting them in the Roman army. Then the emperor ordered (12 B.C.) an advance on the two fronts at once, in Pannonia to secure the Danube as a boundary, and across the Rhine to improve the frontier by including within it part of Germany.

Hard and chequered though they were, the campaigns on the Danube frontier were successful, but the line of Roman forts was not pushed right up to the Danube till a generation after the death of Augustus. The German campaigns, on the other hand, after almost attaining success, ended in a disastrous failure which undid most, but not all, of what had been accomplished.

The final blow, the defeat of Varus in the Teutobergerwald (A.D. 9), happened five years before the death of Augustus. He recognized that further attempts in Germany were hopeless, and, prudent to the last, he advised his successors in his will that no more extensions of the Empire should be attempted. He could claim that he had restored peace and order at home and abroad, that he had increased the Empire and made it secure, with definite frontiers; that its finances had been placed on a sound basis. Augustus could assert, therefore, with all confidence that his work for Rome had been successful.

The weakness of all despotisms consists in this—that the good despot is only mortal; and in Rome despotism was particularly weak because, by the Augustan theory, it was only established temporarily and might be given up. Augustus saw this, and tried to obviate the danger by indicating whom he wished to succeed him. This he did partly by bestowing on those he desired as successors, one after another, the hand of his daughter Julia, his only child, partly by securing for his heir-apparent powers like his own. The first method failed, mainly owing to the deplorable character of Julia. There would have been in any case rivalry between the Julian and the Claudian branches of the imperial house, between Julia's children and those of her step-mother, Livia (the third wife of Augustus), who had two sons by a previous husband, but, unfortunately, none by the emperor.

For the moment, however, Augustus was able to mark out his successors, and in his stepson, Tiberius, whom, much against his will, he was obliged finally to make his heir, he left as Princeps a man of great ability.

Under Tiberius the fictions of the Augustan system fell away, and the despotism of the emperors was more and more revealed. The office of prefect of the city became permanent, and the Imperial Court of Justice now became a grim reality. The special charge which was brought in it against high-class criminals was that of *majestas* (treason—the name still survives in jurisprudence as "lèse-majesté"). Prosecutions for "treason" had been established under the Republic for the protection of the state magistrates, but even under Augustus the grounds for the charge were seriously extended.

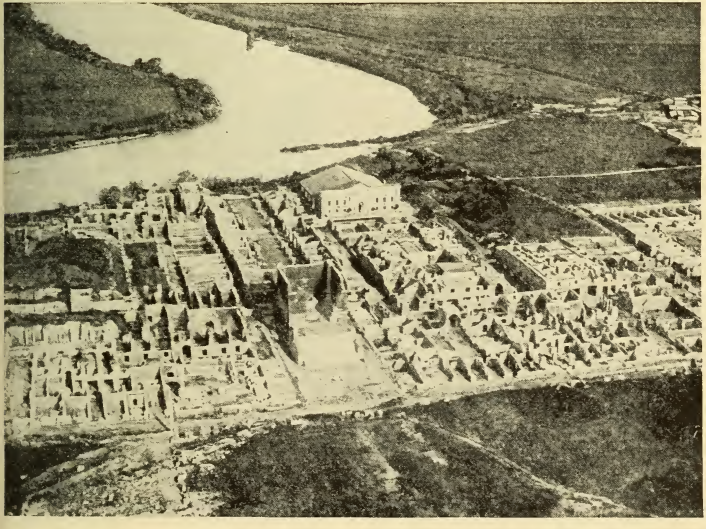
Before the end of the reign of Tiberius it was seen how serious this extension was, and the most frivolous pretexts were enough to secure conviction for the accused.

Corresponding to the development of imperial jurisdiction, encroachment by the

emperor on the other functions left to the Senate proceeded consistently; this took place especially under Claudius. Under him the imperial Civil Service became more and more important; and, as Roman pride prevented free-born citizens becoming the emperor's servants, power fell to a dangerous extent into the hands of his freedmen, and especially of those in charge of finance, of correspondence, and of the petitions presented to him. An imperial servant also took charge of Ostia, an all-important post, for through Ostia came the corn which kept the Roman mob alive and in good temper.

Steadily the progress of the Empire and the development of the emperor's powers went on; but, except in the case of Claudius, it is doubtful if the encroachment was deliberate on the part of the emperors. Tiberius was too old and cautious to make this his aim, at any rate at first; Gaius and Nero were mainly intent on satisfying their appetite for bestial pleasures and their colossal vanity. Claudius was a statesman; he not only enfranchised many in the provinces, but also materially enlarged the Roman Empire, adding five new provinces. One of his annexations marked a new and bold policy. It was under Claudius that the plans of Julius Caesar against Britain were revived; the legions crossed the Channel, and by the time of the death of Claudius the south and part of the east of Britain had been finally and completely subdued.

On Nero's death came the collapse of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The army had already shown its power, when the Guards made Claudius emperor in A.D. 42; on the death of Nero the legions showed that they, too, wished to take a share in emperor-making, and a year of



AIR VIEW OF OSTIA, ONCE ROME'S MARITIME PORT

Ostia—'River Mouths'—on the left arm of the Tiber, is said to have been founded by Ancus Martius in the seventh century B.C. It early became the emporium of Rome's oversea trade, and at the beginning of the Empire was of supreme importance as the harbor through which the corn supply reached Rome. In the reign of Claudius Ostia was replaced by Portus Augusti on the right arm of the river, its harbor having become silted up by alluvial deposits from the Tiber.

civil war was necessary to determine who was the strongest.

Vespasian's victory began a new period of the Empire, which lasted for a century, and was its golden age, interrupted only by the reign of Domitian (A.D. 79-94). Conditions in Rome had very largely changed in the last half century. The old senatorial nobility had almost perished, either by imperial cruelty, or in the civil war, and a Senate of new men, prepared to work with the emperor, had been created by Vespasian; of these Trajan, who was Spanish-born, the first emperor from the provinces and Agricola, who made Roman rule in Britain a reality by conciliation as much as by conquest, are examples.

And with this change there went others as important. The imperial agents took over completely the control of the finance of the Empire; the armies, too, were henceforth mainly recruited not in Italy but from among Romans in the provinces, and the *auxilia,* Rome's provincial troops, corresponding to the British native forces in India, were brought under better control. Wise adoptions by four emperors in succession gave Rome a series of good rulers, and the second century A.D. saw great prosperity all over the Roman world; it is to this period that Mommsen's famous judgement refers, when he speaks of this century as being, for the regions contained in Rome's empire, the happiest the world has ever seen.

Hence, it is not to be wondered at that the gratitude of the world found its expression in a form which, to modern minds, seems equally unreasonable and outrageous—in the deification of its imperial rulers. Both Marius and Sulla received worship, and Julius Caesar frankly accepted the same position, Mark Antony being his *flamen* or priest. Mark Antony himself had no hesitation in claiming divine honors in the East.

But Augustus was much more cautious; though he was quite willing that his uncle should become "Divus Julius," for himself he accepted no direct divine honors. Inscriptions, indeed, tell us that these were paid direct to him in many parts of Italy (at Pompeii, for example), but they were spontaneous and unofficial.

In Italy the officially recognized worship was intended to link the name and honor of the emperor to Rome's oldest rites, but not to supersede them. In this way the emperor was able to enlist on his side new classes, and especially to identify his cult with the religious ideas of the Italian people. One of the main ideas of the ordinary Italian was the belief in his Genius, a sort of double self, distinct and yet largely identical. Augustus took advantage of this to introduce the worship of his own Genius. In this form he was

LARES OF AUGUSTUS

Augustus' personal popularity greatly facilitated the general acceptance of his worship in conjunction with that of the local Lares. On this altar the figure holds a branch of laurel, proper to the Lares of Augustus.

Museo Campodoglio; photo, Moscioni

joined with the Lares, the household gods, of individuals; and, even more significantly, he was joined with the local Lares, who were worshipped at the Compitalia, "the cross-roads," in each district of Rome.

In the provinces a more direct method was employed, and in 29 B.C. the worship of Augustus was definitely introduced by him in Asia—at Pergamum—for the provincials; the Roman citizens in that province were to worship the "Divine Julius," but with Augustus was coupled

the Urbs Roma. After the death of Augustus, this direct provincial worship was almost everywhere set up at once; Africa, above all things the province of the Senate, was the last to establish it.

The aims of Augustus in introducing his cult into the provinces were twofold. First, he wished to discourage indirectly the national worships of his subjects, which were always liable to foment national feeling. Secondly, the worship of the emperor tended to unite the different parts of the Empire. Augustus knew well that, while the material basis of unity was strong, the moral base was weak. Hence he tried to supply this artificially.

To some extent the emperor's plans succeeded. The worship of the emperor met a real need in the Empire, and it remained important till Paganism went down before Christianity. It was the great rival of Christianity on the institutional side. Hence the test which was applied everywhere to try a Christian was whether he would sacrifice to the emperor; a host of martyrs suffered because they would not burn incense to this human god.

But, it must be remembered that on the whole the Roman Empire persecuted little. It was not till the end of the third century that Diocletian began his great and universal persecution. One of the marked features in the story of the spread of early Christianity is the good character of the Roman governors; it is only necessary to refer to those who are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and both St. Paul and St. Peter are full of exhortations that lawful authority should be obeyed. Felix, who is the exception to the above rule, is condemned by Tacitus even more severely than by St. Luke.

With all its faults the Roman Imperial Idea has been one of the greatest forces in world civilization. It preserved much of the best in the Old World; how rich this was in the conveniences of life can be judged from the remains still existing after 1,500 years of destruction, and it is significant how many of these, as inscriptions tell us, were gifts due to the liberality of public-spirited citizens. It helped also to educate the barbarians who overthrew it; they were ever conscious of the greatness of Rome the Immortal, and were willing to learn from her. Like her roads and her buildings, her laws and her institutions survived to a large extent for the use and the instruction of her barbarian conquerors.

THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE

ONE OF THE MOST POTENT FORCES THAT CAN BE DISCERNED AT WORK IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD

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THERE are few more marvelous stories than that of the Latin language. An account of its ultimate origin takes one far back into primeval times, and its history is not at an end even today. It is a fascinating task to consider, if merely in outline, how the dialect spoken by a comparatively small number of Italic peasants inhabiting the plains of Latium near the Tiber some twenty-six centuries ago not only grew into the speech of all Italy, but became the instrument for one of the noblest of literatures and the official language of the greatest empire of the past. Nor does the wonder cease with that; for besides the fact that Latin has long outlived the Roman Empire and maintained a separate existence in the service of learning and religion, it has also proved to be the actual ancestor of a great portion of the languages of modern Europe, while of the rest none, whether of Celtic or Germanic or Slavonic descent, can claim to be entirely independent of its influence upon their vocabulary within historic times.

The closest affinities of Latin among the Indo-European languages are with Greek and Celtic, though it is of vital importance also to compare and explain the forms which the same original word may take in others, such as Germanic, or Sanskrit, the literary language of the Brahmans from about 1500 B.C.—the Latin of India, as it may be called.

The marked affinities found in Latin to the Celtic group of languages, represented by Irish, Welsh, Gaelic and ancient Gaulish, as well as the geographical position of Gauls in northern Italy (Gallia Cisalpina), point to a Celto-Italic period, when the ancestors both of Gauls and of Italic tribes spoke a common language, before the invasion of the peninsula.

To aid the study of Latin sounds and usage within historic times over a long succession of centuries, we can draw evidence from literature, inscriptions, statements by grammarians, glossaries, and traces of spoken Latin. The periods of this history may be given as five, corresponding to divisions of the literature.

The first is an archaic period (500-240 B.C.), interesting philologically but characterized by rather uncouth remains, largely of a legal and ritual kind.

In the second period (240-70 B.C.) we see the earliest attempts at drama and epic on Greek lines. During it the literary language gradually drew away from the spoken form. Towards the end of the period the Social War in Italy meant extinction for many rustic dialects, except in so far as certain elements persisted in local varieties of Latin.

No period in the development of the literary language showed such growth. Its early phases present the rude Saturnian verse of Livius Andronicus and Naevius, the manifest working of popular speech and pronunciation in the comedies of Plautus, and the endeavors of Ennius to adapt Latin to his newly introduced hexameter line. When the period closes, about the time of Virgil's birth, we still detect signs of wrestling with a difficult medium in Lucretius, who, face to face with Greek thought, laments the "poverty of the ancestral tongue."

Yet mighty strides had been made. The language of verse had been prepared for the magic touch of Virgil, while prose, after undergoing the dull experiments of early chroniclers, had been used with in-

creasing power by historians and lawyers, and particularly by three groups of orators—Cato, the cultured Scipio Aemilianus and his intimate Laelius; then the Gracchi and their political opponents; and later the Antonius and Crassus of the generation senior to Cicero.

With the opening of the third period we are on the threshold of the "Golden Age" (70 B.C.-A.D. 14), during which the Latin language attained its fullest glory in the verse of Catullus, Virgil, Horace and the elegiac poets, and in the prose of Cicero, Caesar and Livy. The primitive intractability has gone; instead, we have a finished, sonorous, logical language fitted for giving ideal expression to the national aspirations of Rome. While it could convey a poet's passion and pathos or a historian's judgements, it could also serve, as no other language has ever done so well, the needs of legal enactment or lapidary inscription or stately ritual. Unrivaled as an instrument for lucid, forcible and dignified exposition of a case in law, a historical event, a moral theory, a useful art, a national mission, Latin was the very counterpart of the practical character of the Roman people.

The high cultivation and urbane conventionality of the book language contained seeds of decay during the fourth period (A.D. 14-180), the "Silver Age" of the early Empire. Most of the writers, but not all, betray an excess of artificiality due to the rhetorical education which fostered epigrammatic point in every kind of composition and a poetic coloring for prose style. There were fluctuations of taste which affected prose especially. Though, under Nero, Seneca reached the acme of terseness in his clever sentences, Quintilian, the most eminent professor of the next generation, advocated a return to the Ciceronian model of the rounded period. Later, in the middle of the second century, Fronto and Gellius, avowedly archaistic in their preference for the obsolete, harked back to early Latin writers, while Apuleius, like Fronto from Africa, shows unmistakable signs of the influence of spoken Latin.

With Apuleius we reach the opening of the final stage—the period of Late Latin from about A.D. 180 to the break-up of spoken Latin into the Romance languages.

About the end of the second century the enlistment of Latin in the service of Christian apologetics by Minucius Felix and Tertullian had lasting consequences. It meant that a language adapted to abstract expression, though in different ways, by Cicero and Seneca in their philosophical works, was destined in the future to be, however altered, the language of a great Church handed down through the Fathers and the Vulgate to the Middle Ages. Here in part lay the secret of its historical universality.

As, during this period, spoken Latin not only contributed to the debasement of written style, but was a determining factor in producing the Romance languages, it is necessary to consider it briefly. The cultured diction of literature and the speech of the common folk (*sermo plebeius*) were equally descended from ancient Latin—the parting had come with the creation of a partly exotic literature under Greek auspices. The two manners —the literary and the ordinary—continued to diverge, but also to influence each other; for, as cultured expressions filtered down into vulgar speech, introducing a measure of refinement, so plebeian and even servile expressions passed up into literature, bringing an added smack of reality.

Italic dialects had through the tongues of peasants exerted appreciable influence on the formation of the general Latin ultimately diffused throughout Italy; some Italic vocalisms, in fact, triumphed over Latin and are perpetuated in Romance languages of today. As vulgar Latin was carried first over Italy and then over the Roman world, it underwent modifications owing to contact with various native peoples. Spanish Latin was different from Gallic Latin and both were different from African. So long as the Empire held together, the influence of literary and official Latin, by imposing a normal standard, kept such local peculiarities in check; but with the dissolution of the Empire came the dissolution of Latin into separate Romance languages.

Important factors in the transformation were loss or corruption of inflexional endings, introduction of auxiliary verbs, and use of articles, definite and indefinite. The vocabulary was drawn mainly from the stock of words in common use; it was *caballus,* not *equus,* for example, and *focus,* not *ignis,* that determined the

words for "horse" and "fire" in Italian, Spanish and French. Combined with the Late Latin vocabulary went a free adoption of non-Latin words.

In English, which is fundamentally Teutonic, a great part of the vocabulary has come from Latin at different periods. The Roman occupation of Britain has left its mark on place-names like Chester (from *castra*) Stratford (from *stratum*), Lincoln (from *colonia*). During the centuries following the introduction of Christianity into Britain words, many of them ecclesiastical like "altar," "cowl," "temple," found their way into Saxon English. With the Norman Conquest came a huge accession of words, ultimately from Latin. These were especially words pertaining to feudalism, law and the chase, such as "chivalry," "homage," "tenant," "estate," "larceny," "forest," "venison." The Revival of Learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries accounted for copious borrowings by English writers from Latin direct, like "accelerate," "alacrity," "biped," "circumference." In addition, though English has borrowed much from Greek directly, Latin, as the language of the Church, was the medium through which many Greek words have been transmitted, as "alms," "bishop," "church," "hymn," "martyr."

About the ninth century Latin ceased to be in the strict sense spoken. This does not imply that it died, for its influence remained alive and deservedly far-reaching. It continued to be the language of medieval scholars, theologians, philosophers and statesmen; and the ceremonials of the Roman Church maintained its use. Through Latin translations, during the centuries which had in western Europe become Greekless, medieval students read their Aristotle. Then with the Renaissance came a revival not only of Greek but of Latin learning, and much excellent Latin prose and verse was written under the inspiration of the best classical models.

We turn now to the literature which this language subserved. Response to some social need is characteristic of the earliest forms of native Latin literature long before the operation of Greek literary influence. Bantering farces like the Fescennine and the Atellan contributed to the holiday amusement of rustic merrymakers; and the medley which bore the famous name of *satura* (satire) was, if Livy is right, also at first a piece of rude mummery. Vintage and harvest festivals fostered the dramatic impulse traceable in the later literature, and with it a realistic gift, a satiric jocularity, an aptitude for repartee.

Religion taught the first rhythmic prayers around the sacrificial altar to the accompaniment of music and a ritual dance, so that among the most archaic remains of religious poetry are the barely intelligible litanies chanted by the Salian priests and the Arval brethren. Banquets used to give occasion for reciting poems about heroes, and those lays of ancient Rome may have transmitted certain historical and epic elements, though not to the extent which Niebuhr maintained. The books of the priests were not merely religious archives; their further concern with the calendar involved a record of past years, distinguished by the names of consuls and notable events, so that the elements of annalistic history were already discernible. The Twelve Tables of the law, learned by rote at school, inculcated a primitive precision of formula, which, however, fell far short of artistic prose.

The comparative poverty of these early productions was realized by Livius Andronicus, a highly educated Greek ex-slave from Tarentum, who taught in Rome during the later part of the third century B.C. As no literary texts for school use existed in Latin, he decided to make one, and therefore translated the Odyssey of Homer into Saturnian verse. Only a few scraps survive; but, as Horace had the work for class-lessons in the middle of the first century, it is not too much to say that Andronicus remained the schoolmaster of young Romans for many generations. A play which he based on a Greek original and put on the stage in 240 B.C. is taken to mark the start of Latin literature under Hellenic influence.

The date is significant. A literary outburst immediately followed the close (in 241 B.C.) of the first of three titanic contests against Carthage, when, after twenty-four years of warfare, Rome gained her first province of Sicily, with its rich Greek cities. Within little more than two hundred years Rome held in her power Spain, Gaul, Macedonia, North

Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. To this period of conquest abroad and startling political change at home most of the greatest Latin literature belongs, exhibiting the stimulus of circumstance in such varying moods of the writers as exaltation, depression, passion or thankfulness.

Naevius, a Campanian, was a sympathizer with the common folk in their struggle against the nobility, who punished him for his satiric outspokenness. National in choice of subject for his epic —the First Punic War—he was also national in keeping the old Saturnian meter. His poem seems to contain the first appearance in Latin of legends (perhaps derived from Sicily) connecting Rome with Troy, and relating the love of Dido for Aeneas. He composed plays, both light and serious, for the games of the day. His tragedies he based on Greek mythological models, but he could be original in drama as he was in epic, for he introduced historical plays ("Romulus and Remus," "The Taking of Clastidium") where Roman characters appeared in official robes, *praetextae,* by which title such plays came to be known.

Ennius, a southerner, claimed "three hearts" corresponding to his three languages, Greek, Oscan and Latin. From Greek he introduced the hexameter, the traditional line of epic from Homer onward; but from Rome he drew the inspiration of a great subject. He related in his eighteen books the pageant of Roman success through the centuries down to the last two generations of warfare against Carthage: he rendered in artistic form the popular feeling of exaltation. Of the epic about six hundred lines survive, among which the traces of speeches suggest a strong dramatic quality. Ennius was, in fact, a playwright, and quotations exist from twenty-two tragedies, two comedies and a historical drama by him.

In this first period of its youth Roman drama flourished as it never flourished again; it is, therefore, unfortunate that its tragic plays are now represented only in lists of titles and in collections of fragments.

Meanwhile, lighter drama had for long been represented by the *fabula palliata,* or comedy of Greek life, which Plautus, Terence, Caecilius, Trabea, Atilius, Turpilius and others composed, and by the

FATHER OF ROMAN POETRY

'Our greatest poet' in Cicero's opinion and 'a second Homer' in Horace's, Quintus Ennius (239-169 B.C.) introduced the hexameter and the Homeric treatment into Latin poetry. Ennius was buried in the tomb of the Scipios, and this bust was included among theirs.

Vatican Museum

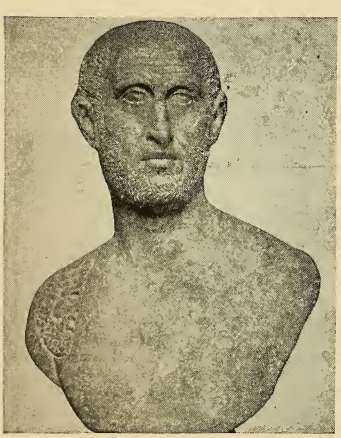
fabula togata, or comedy of Italian life, of which we have, unluckily, mere scraps by Titinius, Afranius and Atta. The two outstanding names are those of Plautus, who established comedy, and Terence, who refined it. By the former we possess twenty plays, almost all complete; by the latter, six.

Plautus, a plebeian from Umbria, who had tried his hand at various humble trades, was not so much a literary scholar as an expert in stagecraft, whose patrons were the public of the day. His plays throw light on Roman manners about the end of the third century B.C., for the author had met strange fellows in his rough and tumble career. From experience came his knack of inventing funny situations and telling dialogue. His subjects and, to a great extent, his characters, like the scapegrace son, penurious father, clever slave, smart courtesan or needy parasite, were found for him in the Greek comedy of manners best represented by Menander. But his boisterous humour revels in adding chicaneries of all sorts,

capers, drunkenness and buffetings; he is a master of comic "business," with a wealth of puns and parodies, and words freely borrowed or freely invented.

Terence's comedies, dramatizing the same social world, have, when compared with Plautus, greater psychological interest; they are studies in character and sentiment. Their author, once an African slave, had been made at home in the aristocratic circle of Scipio the Younger, and imbibed its culture and outlook.

Younger by some ten years than Terence, and in touch with the same cultivated circle, Lucilius was a figure of vast importance for the development of that most intensely Roman of all literary forms—satire. His discursive genius reflected with irony the unrest of the generation which preceded the first century B.C., and his very fragments show his value as an index to contemporary life. He experimented with various forms, but finally concentrated on the hexameter, which thereafter became the typical verse for satire, as used by Horace, Persius and Juvenal.



TERENCE: A MASTER OF COMEDY

Publius Terentius Afer (c. 194-c. 159 B.C.) was a master of pure Latinity. His comedies, notable for skilful construction, psychological insight and wide human interest, served as models for the playwright on the revival of the drama.

Capitoline Museum; photo, Anderson

Prose, meanwhile, had also advanced in the provinces of history, law and oratory, as noted in reviewing the language. So strong was Greek example that the first histories by Romans were written in Greek; but Latin was used by Calpurnius Piso, Antipater, Quadrigarius, Valerius of Antium and Sisenna. Cato the Censor, a powerful orator, had in vain tried to stem the tide of Hellenic refinement. To instruct his fellow-citizens in their past he wrote his "De Originibus." The rival new spirit was, however, evident in the Scipionic literary circle which, combining Hellenic taste with Roman tradition, welcomed not only Greeks like the historian Polybius and the Stoic philosopher Panaetius, but also the two best Latin poets of the times, Terence and Lucilius.

The last century of the Republic was one of deadly turmoil. Into these troublous times were born most of the greatest figures in Latin literature—Cicero (106 B.C.), Julius Caesar (102), Lucretius (c. 98), Sallust (86), Catullus (c. 84), Virgil (70), Horace (65), Livy (59), Propertius (c. 49), Ovid (43). Of these names the first five represent the Ciceronian and the second five the Augustan period, and these two periods together constitute by universal agreement the "Golden Age," because to it belong the best poetry, the best oratory, and, except for Tacitus, the best history written in Latin.

Lucretius reflects an era of disillusion. Profoundly distressed over the tribulations of the time, horrified at the appalling ruin wrought by greed, ambition and other passions, he longed to teach his fellow Romans a serenity of mind. It is in the lore of Epicurus, he fervently believes, that true peace may be found; to read the riddle of the universe is to cease from vain fretfulness, vain desires, vain beliefs, vain fears.

In six books of hexameter verse "On The Nature of Things" (De Rerum Natura), he writes like a devout neophyte converted in full sincerity to the Epicurean doctrine that pleasure is the guide of life; and upon the atomic theory of the origin of all things which Epicurus took over from Democritus he bases a creed to rule the soul. There are interesting anticipations of modern theories on the origin of species, the evolution of civili-

zation and the germ theory of disease. This materialist and rationalist poem, which logically subverted all religion, preached in its disturbing way a new tranquility and a new emancipation from all gross superstitions.

A different Greek influence—Alexandrinism—acted on Catullus and his group of youthful fellow-poets, including Calvus (an able speaker as well as poet) and Helvius Cinna. Well acquainted with Alexandrian technique in occasional poetry and with the learned, sentimental, often erotic color of late Greek authors like Callimachus, they yet found much material in the life around them. Their loves and hates were Roman. All this is true of Catullus of Verona. Alexandrinism colors his longer poems—his "Epithalamia," "Attis," "Berenice's Hair," and his miniature epic on Peleus and Thetis. But he lived in the present as well; so he could lampoon Caesar with bitter mockery, lament his brother with the tender accents of everlasting farewell (*Atque in perpetuum frater ave atque vale*—"For ever, brother, greeting and farewell"), and pour out, with a human passion that all the centuries can understand, the full chronicle of his heart's devotion to "Lesbia," through every phase of an ill-starred amour.

While Catullus represented a romantic type of learning, Terentius Varro of Reate represented miscellaneous learning. Antiquary, grammarian, jurist, agriculturist, official, he produced with amazing energy through a long life hundreds of volumes—among them a hundred and fifty books of Menippean satires that range in a medley of prose and verse over a wide field of social, ethical and literary topics. His pride in the past of Rome gave to his labors a more national note than is found in Greek scholars, who were more dispassionate in their pursuit of human knowledge.

Less encyclopedic than Varro, but an admirer of his learning, M. Tullius Cicero of Arpinum was himself an accomplished scholar, who left a mark on public life as politician and orator.

It was in his use of Latin as speaker and writer that Cicero showed supreme mastery. A busy statesman and lawyer, he pronounced before Senate, juries or people innumerable orations, of which we still possess between fifty and sixty; composed, in addition to rhetorical treatises, many works on philosophy and political science; and left behind him hundreds of letters which were collected and edited by his freedman Tiro.

The culmination of Cicero's career was his attainment of the consulship. His rescue of the state by the summary execution of the Catilinarian conspirators was used by his enemies to force him into exile in 58. Twice after his recall bitter disappointment with public events drove him into a retirement which bore fruit in learned treatises. In particular, to the second of those periods we owe the philosophical works in which he made Greek speculative thought available for Roman readers, and formulated an abstract vocabulary which had the most profound influence upon Christian apologists and medieval schoolmen, and, indeed, on the whole of later philosophical language.

If one is apt in Cicero's case to dwell more on his writings than on his public activities, the reverse holds good of Julius Caesar. His indelible mark as statesman and soldier upon the world of action is apt to make one forget his oratory, scholarship and literary versatility; yet he was a polished speaker and wrote works on subjects entirely unrepresented in his extant seven books "On the War in Gaul" and the three "On the Civil War." The former work virtually consists of dispatches, which, though in appearance coldly dispassionate, yet constitute an apology, as adroit as it is covert, for the commander-in-chief's Gallic administration; while the latter, dignified in its restraint, chronicles the author's quarrel with the Senate on the question of his command in 49, and his subsequent fighting against the nobility led by Pompey. This unadorned and unemotional prose affords a marked contrast to the Ciceronian.

The continuators of Caesar in the eighth book "On the War in Gaul," and in the narratives of the Alexandrian, African and Spanish campaigns, vary in ability, but are all eclipsed by Sallust, two of whose historical works, "Cataline's Conspiracy" and "The War Against Jugurtha," have survived. Sallust freed history from a rigid annalistic treatment, and through the terse vigor of a distinctive style exercised a deep influence upon writers in the Silver Age. His moral di-

gressions may strike an unreal note, but he had the gift of conveying atmosphere, as is best felt in his descriptions of North African landscape. Far less genius was displayed by Cornelius Nepos, who composed Lives of celebrities, mostly Greek.

We realize that we have reached the second phase of the Golden Age, its Augustan period, when we read Virgil's pastoral praises of the young Octavian as a divine giver of peace to a blood-drenched world. The "Eclogues" or "Bucolics" of Virgil (P. Vergilius Maro) are ten pastoral poems written during a few years following 43 B.C. Virgil was born in 70 in the north near Mantua, and had spent years at Rome in study and poetic experiment as one of a circle of young poets, which included the talented but ill-fated Gallus.

The works on which his fame rests are three. The earliest, the "Eclogues," show the hand of Gallus still discernible here and there. They celebrate mainly the loves and singing contests of an ideal shepherd life, in which the author's North Italian memories are charmingly blended with idyllic imitations of the Sicilian Theocritus. Next came the "Georgics," four polished books concerning crops, trees, cattle and bees, suggested by the Greek poet Hesiod's "Works and Days," but also echoing Roman poets like Lucretius, whose speculations on the universe powerfully affected Virgil in early days.

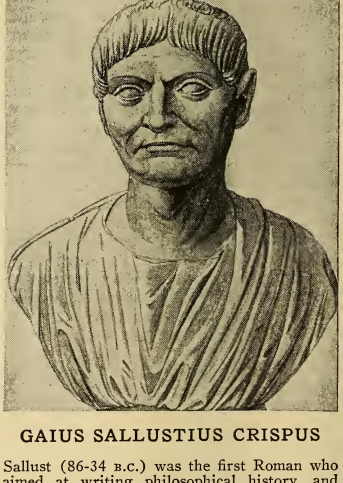
His last eleven years, largely spent at Naples, Virgil gave to composing the twelve books, never finished to his satisfaction, of the Aeneid, the story of Aeneas, the legendary Trojan progenitor of the Italian house to which the Caesars belonged. An epic of voyaging and warfare, it owed much to the Homeric Odyssey and Iliad, but the author's deep scholarship laid Greek and Latin literature widely under contribution. Learning, artistry, symbolism, mysticism, pathos, are among the qualities which make this national epic a great poem.

Virgil's friend Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), who was slightly junior to him, came from southern Italy. In his series of works, the Epodes (light and satiric verses mainly in iambic measures), the Satires (in hexameters), the Odes (in varying lyric meters), and the Epistles (in hexameters), he bequeathed a literary legacy whose varied human interest has captured the affection of readers in all countries and at all times. His Satires, though under obligations to Lucilius, are more genial than his were in their attitude towards the foibles of Mankind; their craftsmanship is of an infinitely higher order.

The Horatian Odes are, many of them, poems of friendship, love, conviviality, persiflage, reflection, some purely occasional though finished in form, and others again serious homilies on the virtues that exalt a nation. A mellowing of thought from an easy-going Epicureanism to a moderate Stoicism is traceable in his works.

The Epistles touch not only upon the philosophy of life, but also upon literary criticism. He may be said to preach a reasoned temperance, a golden mean of enjoyment, a "gathering of the rosebuds while one may" (*carpe diem*), and a brave acceptance of fate.

The three chief elegiac poets of the



GAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS

Sallust (86-34 B.C.) was the first Roman who aimed at writing philosophical history, and was an admirable delineator of character. His 'Jugurthine War' is picturesque, his 'Catiline' one of the best historical monographs in the Latin language.

Leningrad Museum

VIRGIL AND THE MUSES

In this mosaic from a Roman villa at Carthage Virgil (670-19 B.C.) is depicted with the manuscript of the Aeneid on his knee, with Clio reading to him from a roll and Melpomene, tragic mask in hand, leaning on his chair. The beauty and the national character of Virgil's poetry early made him the object of a literary cult.

Bardo Museum, Tunis; from 'Monuments Piot'

time were Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid; they perfected the single Greek verse-form—alternate hexameter and pentameter—hitherto undeveloped in Latin. All of them wrote of love, but not of love alone. Tibullus to his plaints over his luckless affection for "Delia" and "Nemesis" added a genuine taste for the country and its customs. Propertius, equally unblest in his passion for "Cynthia," has less sweetness but more vigor than Tibullus.

Ovid was far more than an elegiac poet, and, as a prince of story-tellers, has remained a fertile influence upon painting and letters. His love-poetry includes "Amores," "Heroides" (imaginary correspondence of legendary heroines) and the "Art of Love," whose wantonness earned Augustus's decree of expulsion from Rome to the Black Sea. Before his banishment from the capital he had written eighteen hexameter books of "Metamorphoses," or mythological transformations, and his incomplete "Fasti," or calendar of legends. His "Tristia" ring incessant changes upon the misery of a home-sick exile.

In Augustan prose the outstanding figure was Livy, who conceived the gigantic task of relating in a hundred and forty-two books the pageant of Roman history from the mistiest beginnings down to his own age. Of the first forty-five books the second decade is lost, and nothing later than Book Forty-Five has survived except summaries for nearly all the books, which indicate his scale of treatment.

Several causes cooperated to create a distinctive Latin in the Silver Age: changes in grammar and vocabulary inevitable in all language were accompanied by changes in manner due especially to rhetorical education and the custom whereby authors gave *recitationes* (readings) from their most favored works before select audiences.

Everything tended to discourage simplicity of expression and foster display. Virtue lay in devices calculated to produce effect. It is when we turn to literature—to Lucan or Statius—that we find this academic cleverness applied with a dexterous command over every possible artifice.

In poetry the first notable work of the period was that of the Thracian ex-slave Phaedrus, who began in Tiberius's reign his series of beast-fables adapted from the Greek collection which bore the name of Aesop. In Latin iambics, these stories, comparatively free from artifice, sometimes seemed to have a satiric bearing, for misbehaving men recognized them-

selves in misbehaving animals, and legal proceedings were taken against the writer. Nine plays, pale imitations of Greek tragedy, were written by Seneca the philosopher, partly as literary experiments, partly, it may be, to interest his pupil Nero. Not fitted for the stage, they yet exercised much influence on European drama; for example, the ghost and nurse that are of such frequent occurrence in Elizabethan plays are descendants of Senecan characters.

The qualities of "Silver" poetry are unmistakably evident in the "Pharsalia" of Seneca's precocious nephew, Lucan. The perilous friendship of Nero had turned to a mad jealousy, not likely to be appeased by the young author's daring anti-Caesarism in ten epic books on Pompey's fight against Julius Caesar. Brilliant though cloying rhetoric, impassioned speeches, clever arguments, ingenious epigrams, strained conceits, elaborate descriptions, make up a work which Quintilian wisely commended to orators rather than to poets. One original feature in Lucan was his banishment of gods and goddesses from his historical narration.

IMMORTAL HORACE

Satirist, lyrist and critic, Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65-8 B.C.) wrote the most polished odes of the Augustan age and raised for himself a monument more durable than brass.

From Bernoulli, 'Röm, Ikonographie'

The epic succession was continued by three poets, two of whom chose mythological themes, and one, like Lucan, a historical theme. Valerius Flaccus dedicated his "Argonautica" to Vespasian; Statius his "Thebaid" and incomplete "Achilleid" to Vespasian's second son, Domitian, in whose reign also Silius Italicus issued part of his "Punica." Valerius, perhaps the most poetic of this trio, is less successful in rising to the full opportunities of so romantic a tale as Jason's quest of the Golden Fleece with his fellow-voyagers aboard the Argo than in awakening a psychological interest in the course of the love attachment between the hero and the princess Medea, who piquantly combines the qualities of uncanny enchantment with those of shy maidenliness. Here the Roman excels his Greek model Apollonius of Rhodes.

Lucan's contemporary, Persius, left half a dozen satires scolding his generation as if he were a hot gospeller for Stoicism. A close student of Horace, he compressed or contorted many of his predecessors' expressions, and developed a crabbed style apt to obscure the real vigor of his onslaught upon human prejudices—"the old grandmothers" in the heart.

A couple of years after Persius's death there arrived in Rome from Spain one with a very different outlook. This was Martial (c. 43-c. 104). He did not long enjoy the protection of his fellow Spaniards Seneca and Lucan, for Piso's plot against Nero in 65 sealed their doom. But during more than thirty years in the capital his chief industry lay in the assiduous courting of patrons and the composition of brief occasional poems reflecting every type of society, high and low, rich and poor, honest and fraudulent, hardworking and idle, clean and unclean. Though marred by flattery and coarseness, his style is in the main clear and free from rhetoric.

Juvenal (c. 60-140) also held the mirror up to life; his sixteen satires in hexameters are, however, on a larger scale, and they are animated, not with easy-going indulgence, but, at least in the earlier books, with fiery wrath against the abuses, shams, vices and dangers of the overgrown cosmopolitan city. His declamatory method—in which he was a trained expert—plunges freely into exaggeration, but is not incompatible with sincerity of purpose; indeed, vigor such as his, rather of the Lucilian than the Horatian type, could not rest upon artificiality.

A survey of "Silver" prose takes one back to the compendious history of Velleius Paterculus, an officer once on service under Tiberius in his northern campaigns; it was a merit in Paterculus to find room for reflections on the emergence of liter-

ary genius at certain epochs. "Memorable Deeds and Sayings," collected by Valerius Maximus, formed a repertory of anecdote for speakers or writers, but it suffers from rhetoric.

A little later, fine writing also crops out in Pomponius Mela's "Geography," a study of countries following mainly a round of the Mediterranean sea-board. Q. Curtius took the conquests of Alexander the Great as material for a history which he made more romantic than scientific. In contrast with the prevalent affectation, Celsus, best known for his "De Medicina," the sole surviving portion of an extensive encyclopedia, adopted a sensible type of businesslike prose. Nor was Columella's "Agriculture" weighed down with decoration.

The writings of Seneca the younger, Lucan's uncle, are typical of the new prose. Born in Spain before the Christian era, he was Nero's tutor and for a time his adviser. He, however, won most fame by his series of works expounding neo-Stoic doctrine on questions such as Providence, Firmness, Tranquility of Mind, The Happy Life. In handling such topics, he displayed a marvelous mastery over sparkling brevity of statement and effective readiness of illustration. A dignified earnestness pervades his insistence upon the divine principle inherent in the world and Man, upon the sufficiency of goodness for happiness, upon the mind's subdual of passions or pain; there is, too, a fresh cosmopolitan note of brotherliness among men and humanity towards slaves.

Much less of a "highbrow," though an intensely clever littérateur able to turn at will from one style to another, was Petronius, a consul, a provincial governor, and at Nero's court an arbiter whose word was law on matters of etiquette and taste. He wrote the first realistic and picaresque novel, the "Satyricon," recounting the unsavory escapades of two young scamps in various Italian towns. The work contains a few well-told short stories and episodes which show the author's power of treating literature and education critically and his skill in composing refined verse.

The portentous "Natural History" of the elder Pliny, in thirty-seven books, is the single extant monument to that indefatigable industry which enabled him, amidst much honorable official duty, to save time for a mass of writings on historical, military and linguistic subjects. Antiquated now in its geography, physics, zoology, botany and mineralogy, his *magnum opus* is an index to the scientific knowledge of the time.

Pliny's contemporary, the eminent professor of rhetoric, Quintilian (c. A.D. 35-97), has exercised an abiding influence as one of the world's great educators. A sagacious man with long experience in teaching, Quintilian devoted the evening of life to twelve books on "Institutes of Oratory," ostensibly to train an accomplished speaker, but in reality to produce a cultured Roman gentleman fitted by character to use eloquence aright (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*—an upright man skilled in speaking).

WAITING FOR INSPIRATION

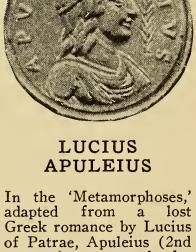
This pleasing fresco from Pompeii shows a handsome girl—Sappho, perhaps, or some young Pompeian poetess—with her wooden tablets and stylus, meditatively engaged in composition.

National Museum, Naples; photo, Anderson

One of Quintilian's pupils was the elder Pliny's nephew, who escaped death at eighteen during the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, when he declined to accompany his uncle on his fatal scientific venture into the danger zone. We possess ten books of his Letters, of which nine, written, with an eye upon posterity, to a wide circle of correspondents, afford most interesting glimpses into social life, and

obviously emanate from a scholar whose courtesy, generosity and naïve vanity make an irresistible appeal to the reader.

His friend Tacitus (c. 55-c. 119) published nothing after his juvenile "Dialogue on Orators" until Domitian was dead, when historians could breathe freely. The monographs on his father-in-law, Agricola, governor of Britain, and on the tribes of Germany, mark the departure from his earlier Ciceronianism and foreshadow the developed compression, epigrammatic brilliance and caustic judgements of the "Historiae," and "Annales," or rather "Ab Excessu Divi Augusti" (After the Death of the Divine Augustus), works in which he set himself to relate first the events of A.D. 69-96 and then the preceding period A.D. 14-68. Tacitus does not lack faults as a historian; but they are compensated by an extraordinarily individual style characterized by incisive penetration into character and skilful command over vivid description.



LUCIUS APULEIUS

In the 'Metamorphoses,' adapted from a lost Greek romance by Lucius of Patrae, Apuleius (2nd century) preserved for posterity a unique specimen of the light literature of the ancient Greeks.

From Bernoulli

This brilliance is absent from the matter-of-fact but well-told Lives of the Caesars by Suetonius (c. 70-140). A spicy anecdote or a personal detail, such as the color of the emperor's eyes or hair, were points essential to the author's biographic methods.

The epitomizer Florus (2nd century A.D.) viewed Roman history as the growth of an organism from infancy through youth and maturity to decline, though he carefully postulates a revival under Trajan.

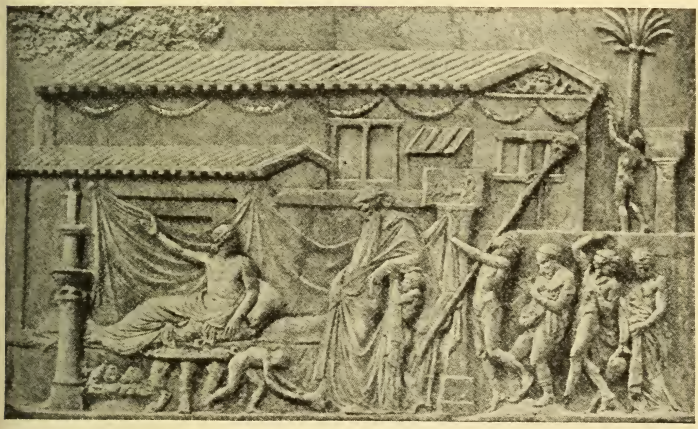
The reaction from Silver convention is manifest in the three representatives of an "elocutio novella" (new manner of speaking). Fronto, an African rhetorician, in pursuit of fresh vigor, advocated a blend of an old-fashioned, pre-Ciceronian style with current speech. Similar enthusiasm for the antique possessed Gellius in compiling his quaint miscellany, "The Attic Nights," while the movement culminated in Apuleius's "Metamorphoses," a fantastic story, not without audacities in description, of his hero's transformation into an ass in Thessaly, the headquarters of sorcery. Its abnormal Latin cannot deprive of charm the incidental fairy-tale of Cupid and Psyche. Creative literature, however, did not thrive either under the tranquil government of the Antonines or amidst the anarchy of the third century; but law, scholarship and criticism found learned devotees, and epitomes were ominously preferred to the voluminous standards of the past. In fact, for some generations from the end of the second century the most virile thought expressed in Latin sprang from the new faith in Christ.

A dialogue by Minucius Felix, "Octavius," argued out some aspects of Christianity, though with nothing like the fullness and fervor of Tertullian, who in his "Apologeticum" consecrated on eloquence learned in the law courts of Carthage to an unmeasured denunciation of pagan literature. Thenceforward, even if the break is not absolute, Christian Latinity is the concern of patristic rather than literary study. It suffices to note that Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, wrote a better style than Tertullian; and that Lactantius, though taught by Arnobius, the author of "Adversus Nationes," did not imitate his instructor's lack of polish, but so steeped himself in classical rhetoric at Nicomedia that his "Divine Institutions" earned him the title of "The Christian Cicero."

The pagan Latin tradition had spasmodic revivals. After the outburst of bizarre African Latinity in the second century came the turn of Gaul in the third, when the panegyrists took Pliny as their exemplar. Suetonius's biographic type of history was followed, more feebly, by the six authors who composed a sequel in the "Historia Augusta." It was left for Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 326-391) to attempt a return, in strangely different style, to the Tacitean model in a continuation of Roman history from Nerva's reign down to the history of his own day.

Among poets there were signs of reawakening. Virgilian influence had colored Nemesianus's pastorals and his "Cynegetica" on hunting; while, in the fourth century, diverse classical traditions combined in the miscellaneous poems of Ausonius of Bordeaux with traits so modern that he might in some respects be considered the earliest poet of France.

But if there was no longer, after the fifth century, a Roman literature, Latin literature did not cease. Nothing more significantly links classical antiquity with the middle ages than to remember that Jerome's extraordinary influential Vulgate version of the greater part of the Scriptures appeared at the beginning of the fifth century, and that the sack of Rome by the Goths and Huns in 410 stirred Augustine in his "De Civitate Dei" (On the City of God) to make copious use of Latin literature for elaborating his conception of a heavenly city more abiding than the greatest of human empires. There is vital inspiration in this age-long continuity of Latin, fertile in time-winnowed masterpieces, to which the modern world still turns for their human appeal.



BACCHUS HONORING A TRAGIC POET WITH A VISIT

Sculptors of the Augustan age produced some notable pictorial reliefs in marble. This example represents a visit from Bacchus to a tragic poet reclining in the open air outside his house; a table with cakes and wine stands beside the couch, with a row of tragic masks beneath it. The corpulent, bearded god stands supported by a young Satyr, while a second Satyr draws his sandals off his feet. Silenus and a train of Satyrs are following the god.

British Museum

PAGANISM AND THE PHILOSOPHIES

CODES OF CONDUCT THAT TOOK THE PLACE OF RELIGION AMONG THE THINKING CLASSES OF THE EMPIRE

VERY REV. W. R. INGE, D.D., K.C.V.O.

Dean of St. Paul's 1911-1934; Author of 'The Philosophy of Plotinus,' 'The Platonic Tradition,' 'Outspoken Essays,' etc.

THE name religion, it has been said, comes to us from the least religious nation in the world, the Romans. Cumont's verdict is that, "never did a people of advanced culture have a more infantile religion." This dictum would have surprised the Romans, who believed themselves to be a very religious people. The answer depends on what we mean by religion, and it should be remembered that other Latin writers besides Lucretius use both the noun and its adjective in a disparaging sense. Polybius ascribed the public honesty of the Romans to their "scrupulous fear of the gods," and considered that nothing else contributed so much "to hold together their commonwealth."

Religion in the ancient world involved every social function. The man who was excluded from the religion of his nation could not enter into its life. If we use the word religion in a narrower sense, the Roman sense of honor does not seem to have been very closely connected with it, except when an oath had to be sworn or a god invoked.

For the most part, the interest of the Romans was centered in the cult. Their prayers were like legal documents. Cicero's definitions of *pietas* and *sanctitas* are characteristic. The former is "justice towards the gods," the latter is "the art of worshipping them." Still, as Cumont says, the poverty of the Roman religion was honest. Its gods were too nebulous to form a mythology, many of them being mere abstractions or personified qualities. But they were not human enough to set a bad example, and with the help of the censors they managed to inculcate all the civic virtues.

POETICAL myths and philosophy were alike frowned upon, with the result that rustic barbarism remained encrusted on the state religion. Divination and prodigies were recognized; if "an ox in Etruria spoke," something serious was portended. All this was tolerated by the educated, because the serious business of religion was to support morality and the state; it existed for this purpose. So when Augustus wished to reform morals, he rebuilt the temples.

Perhaps the most important thing to recognize is that the old Latin religion lingered on, especially in the country districts, long after the imported Greek mythology had been discredited and virtually abandoned. The last adherents of the old gods (except for a small group of conservative aristocrats) were the *pagani,* the villagers. (Harnack, however, suggests that *pagani* means rather "civilians.")

THE routine of the ancient ceremonies went on undisturbed. The upstart gods, for whom room had to be made, even within the sacred *Pomerium* (city boundary), were not rivals, on equal terms, of the old Roman deities. There were flamens, pontiffs and augurs as of old, and the scions of the old families felt a pride in being admitted to the sacred colleges. The Vestal Virgins, the Arval Brethren and the Salii maintained the ancient ritual under the Empire of the third century. In religion, though not in philosophy, Rome proved stronger than Greece. Indeed, who can study Western Catholicism in modern times without acknowledging the truth of Augustine's words that the Roman Empire

REPRESENTATIVES OF ROMAN ORTHODOXY

A fragment of the Altar of Peace set up by Augustus shows us members of the College of Flamens, or priests, all scions of noble families. These represented the state religion of Rome; and these persisted, alongside the new philosophic, religious and intellectual experiments throughout the whole period under review.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Brogi

has been battered rather than changed?

Now, it is always probable that in any history the doings of the capital will receive an undue amount of attention, and that the tone of the literary class will give a false idea of the beliefs and opinions of the nation at large. In the city states of antiquity the capital was the nation. But after Rome became the head of a great empire it is impossible to speak of nationality, though even today, when we talk of the Latin countries, we assume that their inhabitants have some Roman blood in their veins. The Romanization of the western provinces was rapid and almost complete. Seneca, Lucan, Martial and Trajan were Spaniards. Rome itself produced hardly any more literary men of note.

As for the imperial city itself, it was always predatory and parasitic. Rome drained the wealth of the provinces—in return, it must in fairness be said, for very substantial benefits, especially the protection of the frontiers. But the ruling class in such a capital was not likely to be more religious than the French noblesse before the Revolution.

It would be easy to illustrate the complete scepticism of the educated Romans at the end of the Republic and later. Lucretius is bitterly hostile to *religio*, and is ready to cry, like Voltaire, "Crush the monstrous thing." Cicero is not always consistent, but in the "De Divinatione" he speaks like a Lucretius in prose:

> To say the truth, superstition has spread among all peoples, and has captured almost every mind, taking advantage of human weakness.

Julius Caesar was a complete agnostic. Ovid holds up the national gods to ridicule on all occasions. Juvenal says that only children believe in ghosts and the infernal regions. But this attitude is really inconsistent with the importance which that age attached to religion as a political fiction, for a fiction which deceives nobody is useless. Diodorus Siculus had said that though the myths about the future life are pure fiction, "they help to make men pious and upright," and this was also the opinion of Varro. "It is in the interest of states for men to be deceived in religion." Such an opinion was commonly held.

Warde Fowler has said that the Italians in the period which we are now considering realized divinity in four ways. First, there were the domestic deities, like Vesta and the Penates, and the very interesting cult of the Genius, something between an "astral soul" and a guardian angel, which was susceptible of important later developments. Secondly, men tended to look upon the great deity of the heavens, who was also the protecting deity of the State and Empire, as the same as the world-spirit of the philosophers. Thirdly, the inclination to recognize and even adore a principle of blind chance or irresistible fate, identifying this with an old Roman cult of Fortuna, with which

it had little to do, was widespread. Lastly, there was a tendency, which had existed for a long time in the eastern half of the Empire, to divinize rulers and men of great prominence, elevating them into the position of supernatural saviors. Underneath all these changes there was a strong tradition of *virtus, gravitas* and *simplicitas* (courage, seriousness and straightforwardness), the qualities of the idealized Roman character, to which constant appeals are made by the great Augustan writers. It was this ideal above all others that prevented the Empire from going to pieces. Rationalism was very far from gaining a real victory.

The superstitions of the Romans were amazing. Augustus himself used a sealskin as a protection against lightning, studied his dreams like a modern Freudian, and was much moved by portents. All nations, Cicero says, believe in divination, and all philosophers except Xenophanes and Epicurus. The remedy against superstition is natural science, and the decay of natural science under the Empire is one of the strangest features of that era of civilization.

Such, in very brief outline, was the state of religion in Rome when "philosophy" began to influence Roman ways of thinking. Cumont reminds us that we often forget how far the East was in advance of the West at this time. Indeed, the Empire itself was born in the Levant. If we cannot say that it was oriental in its origin, it was certainly Hellenistic; later, when Christianity won its victory, it was oriental in type. The Empire of the West no doubt was and remained fundamentally Roman, but, like the kingdoms of the Diadochi, it occupies a place in history between the city states of antiquity and the national states of modern times; and the deification of the ruler was a Hellenistic practice borrowed from the East. In this chapter we are to consider the earlier contacts of Rome with Hellenistic philosophy, which preceded the orientalizing of religion.

Not unimportant is the social position of philosophers. From the time of Scipio Aemilianus in the latter half of the second century B.C. we find Greek philosophers as honored guests in the houses of great nobles. This is the first stage of their influence upon Roman life. Then follows the great age of Roman Stoicism, strongly Republican in sympathies even long after the Empire was securely established. This philosophical opposition to the imperial system lasted till the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). It was not often politically dangerous, and ended by being harmless and romantic.

With Hadrian a third stage opens. The emperors endow professorial chairs of philosophy, and bestow dignities upon the professors. In this century neo-Platonism was beginning to absorb the other schools, and at last reigned supreme. Neo-Platonism was absolutely non-political and neutral in attitude towards the diverse forms of government.

During this period several philosophers rose to high civic honors; for instance, Fronto, Polemon, Aristocles and Herodes Atticus were consuls.

When we moderns speak of philosophy, we think of some abstruse metaphysical system, such as is associated with the names of Kant, Hegel and Lotze. The earlier English usage included natural science under the name. This use of the word testified to the historical fact that the earliest Greek philosophy was closely connected with science, and very loosely connected with religion. It is, in fact, only in Plato and the post-Aristotelian schools that this remark ceases to be true.

Aristotle had defined philosophy as the knowledge of things by their causes—which is the principal end of modern science. But even in his time speculative interest was beginning to give way to definite practical aims. Not only does political and social reform hold a large place in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, but these thinkers are already building up an inner world of the spirit, a heavenly citizenship in which the philosopher may take refuge from the provoking of all men.

This tendency to make philosophy a complete substitute for religion, or to turn philosophy itself into a religion, was the natural result of the political changes which destroyed the free life of the Greek communities, and dissolved the connection between their political and their moral life. Further, the very weak hold which the popular religion had upon

conduct, and the scandals in which the old mythology abounded, prevented earnest men from doing what so many do now—making the dogmas of religion a peg on which to hang their own best thoughts.

LUCRETIUS protests that there is no real *pietas* (piety) in bowing and prostrating oneself before an altar, in sacrifices and vows. But did not the Old Testament prophets say exactly the same? The function of philosophy was now to enlighten the conscience in problems of daily conduct. Marcus Aurelius says:

> As surgeons keep their instruments to hand for sudden calls upon their skill, do you keep your principles always ready to test things divine and human, in every trifling act remembering the bond between the two. For no human act can be right without reference to the divine, and conversely.

In later antiquity, as for Matthew Arnold, conduct was three-fourths of life.

Increasingly the individual was thrown back upon himself, as liberty decayed and the calls of patriotism grew faint. In a society where the hopes associated with a belief in progress hardly existed, the aim of the individual was to make himself invulnerable and self-sufficient. This aim is at the bottom of all the later philosophies alike—Stoicism, Epicureanism and the later Platonism.

However, we shall see that this world-renouncing tendency was in sharp contradiction to the old Roman character, and that the Romans embraced Stoicism and condemned Epicureanism precisely on account of the unmanly and selfish teaching which they associated with the latter. The two tendencies which are present in Stoicism—the one towards detachment and emancipation from the world, the other towards active participation in the universal commonwealth, which is the city of God on earth—persist together in the Roman Stoics, somewhat inconsistently. We see exactly the same combination of opposing tendencies in Calvinism, which is the Christian form of Stoicism.

THE founder of Stoicism, in the fourth century B.C., was Zeno (c. 340-264), probably but not certainly a Phoenician, of Citium in Cyprus. It is curious that this philosophy, so congenial to the Western mind, should have been born in a Semitic environment. Chrysippus, who has been called the second founder of Stoicism, came from the half-Semitic Cilicia; and his successor, another Zeno, from Tarsus itself, the birthplace of St. Paul. The former Zeno made Athens his home and taught there, as a resident alien, till his death.

He borrowed from the Cynics, perhaps, his method of allegorizing the myths. What was more important, Stoicism resembled Cynicism in its insistence on the simple life, an asceticism which had as its object not so much the subjection of the flesh as the attainment of complete independence of all externals. But Zeno had no sympathy with the attitude of brutal contempt for public opinion, and for the accepted decencies of civilized life, which was attributed, rightly or wrongly, to the earlier Cynics. It is only in Epictetus that the perfect Stoic seems to model himself on the complete renunciation characteristic of the Cynic, which passed into Christianity as the eremite ideal.

STOICISM, like Buddhism, sees in desire the main source of human misery. Happiness is to be found, not in multiplying our desires and gratifying them, but in willing nothing which is out of our reach. If we will only what exists, we are independent of the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. Even severe pain may be overcome by consenting to it as right and inevitable. This acquiescence can, of course, be justified only if we are convinced that the order of the world is rational and good. This forces the Stoics to formulate a theory of Nature, though they were averse from theorizing. It was necessary for their peace of mind to feel complete certainty about the constitution of the world in which we live.

Zeno taught that this certainty is not beyond our capacities. There are convictions which come home to us so strongly that, in the philosopher's vivid language, they catch us by the hair and compel us to assent to them. But the Stoic did not believe himself to be infallible; it was only on certain subjects that we may be quite sure that we are not mistaken. As a modern philosopher

has said, in every system we come at last to a point where a man must trust himself.

ZENO brushed aside the objections of scepticism as every practical man must brush them aside. He had no scientific curiosity; he merely wished for a view of the world which would justify that inflexibility of the will which he advocated in his teaching. The power behind Nature must be rational, otherwise there can be no rational life for Man.

On the whole, Zeno was content to take over the physical speculations of the old Ionians, especially of Heracleitus, who identified the primary matter of the universe with fire. This involved him in a kind of materialism, which was always a stumbling-block in the Stoic philosophy. He was obliged to maintain that the gods and the soul were "bodies," concrete realities. But since he insisted that the universe is a living being, he cannot properly be classed with the modern materialists.

IT was not to a blind dance of atoms that the Stoics bade us surrender our wills, but to a fate which is only another word for divine providence. Stoicism stood emphatically for a belief in providence; all things work together for good to the just and wise man.

The controversy between free will and determinism is peculiarly awkward in Stoicism. Logically, both Stoicism and Calvanism seem to be committed to that kind of pantheism which admits of only one will in the universe. But in practice there have been no more virile and self-assertive creeds than these two. When any thinker has solved the ancient puzzle as to how this can be, it will be time to blame this or that school of philosophy for inconsistency.

According to the Stoics the ruling principle in Man, which ought to direct all our actions, is a detached part of the cosmic Reason—a doctrine which opens the door towards mysticism. What the ruling principle approves has value; all else has no value. Nothing is good but the good will, as Kant was to say later; all other things are "indifferent." Thus Stoicism draws the moral world in silhouette; there are no half tones. This abolition of all grades of good and bad was too harsh to be maintained, and the school admitted that some things—the good things of this life—are "preferable" if we can have them, though they are not strictly good. As for the criterion by which we are to decide what things are right and what wrong, the maxim "Live according to Nature" was ambiguous. It may indicate the life which a man must lead if he is to realize the idea of his being—a true maxim which is perhaps too vague to be of much use in practical decisions; or it may imply that the nearer a man is to primitive conditions, the better he achieves this end. So far as the Stoics approximated to this latter doctrine, we may trace the influence of Cynicism.

A CERTAIN hardness was recognized as being inseparable from Stoicism. It is part of the desire to be invulnerable. So congenial to the Roman temperament was this strong and proud creed that it has been said that some of the old Republican heroes were Stoics without knowing it. Panaetius of Rhodes, a somewhat eclectic Stoic, was a friend of Scipio Aemilianus. But recent scholarship gives far more importance to Poseidonius of Apamea in Syria, who migrated to Rhodes, whither Cicero went to "sit under" him, and Pompey, we are told, twice turned aside to visit him during his campaigns in the East. The writings of Poseidonius, who died about 51 B.C., are no longer extant. Poseidonius must have been an eclectic who eked out Zeno and Chrysippus with Plato, and thus prepared the way for the later fusion of the two philosophies.

TWO of Cicero's philosophical works, the "De Officiis" (On Duties) and the "Tusculan Disputations," deal with the great topics of Stoicism—especially how a man should bear himself when he is in trouble and in danger of death. But though Cicero without doubt derives much consolation from the Stoics, he is temperamentally more inclined to the Academic school and cannot be ranked among the disciples of Zeno. For us, apart from the heroes of liberty, like Thrasea Paetus, Roman Stoicism means chiefly Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, though we must not forget

Musonius Rufus, who, like the orator Dio Chrysostom, holds up a really Christian ideal of sexual morality.

Seneca's reputation has suffered from the large fortune which he amassed while acting as Nero's minister. The contrast between his creed and what we know of his worldly life is strange, but not stranger than that between the apparent splendor of his position and the haunting terror under which Nero's courtiers always lived. Philosophy was for him a genuine refuge from an existence which would otherwise have been intolerable. Carlyle's gibe that he was "the father of all such as wear shovel hats" is in intention as unfair to Seneca as to the average bishop.

Like other Stoics, Seneca is no philosopher in the modern sense. He is a preacher and spiritual adviser. He retains, indeed, the traditional division of philosophy into logic, physics and ethics; but he takes no interest in the first, and though his "Natural Questions" became a textbook of science in the Middle Ages, he has very little of the true scientific spirit—far less, for instance, than the Epicurean Lucretius. He likes to dwell on the vastness of the material universe, being unable, except when he ceases to be an orthodox Stoic, to dwell in thought upon the invisible home of the soul, eternal in the heavens. He sometimes uses Platonic and almost Christian language about the future life, as in the remarkable sentence: "The day which you dread as your last is your birthday into eternity." But this confidence was not justified by the doctrines of his school, and he did not always feel it.

As Dill has said, Seneca is the earliest (c. 4 B.C.-A.D. 65) and most powerful apostle of a great moral revival. Soon after his death there was a very noticeable reaction against the unbridled profligacy and extravagance of the earlier Caesars and their circle. In him the hardness of the pure Stoic creed is tempered by a truly religious yearning, which in the hands of the neo-Platonists was to transform philosophy into a quest of the beatific vision. In his thoughts about God, he wavers between the conception of the Deity as universal law or fate, and as the power within us which makes for righteousness, a wise and merciful Providence. These two ideas, as we have seen, were both held by the Stoic school.

Especially pleasing to the modern reader is his insistence on the brotherhood of Man. The earlier Roman Stoics had, perhaps, not found much in their philosophy to make them shocked at the injustice of slavery, but Seneca deplores it with all his heart.

In all the many writings of Seneca we are conscious of a process of transition, in which the pride of the Stoic sage, though not wholly renounced, is giving way to a humbler and gentler temper. The part of the Stoic teaching which was to grow and bear fruit was not the isolation and detachment of the invulnerable "wise man," but the moral duties which flow from the recognition of universal human brotherhood. It is broadly true, though certain qualifications must be made, that in the earlier centuries of Christianity, down to St. Ambrose (c. 340-397), and even later, Christian ethics were predominantly Stoic, Christian philosophy predominantly Platonic.

For this humanizing and spiritualizing of Stoicism much credit belongs to Seneca. Partly through his influence, which was very great in later ages, Stoicism became incorporated in the Christian religion, and in Calvinism, as has been suggested above, it had a genuine revival within Christianity. Seneca was certainly no Christian, and never corresponded with St. Paul, but he has broken entirely with Paganism—much more completely than the devout neo-Platonists of the following centuries. His language about sin is something new in European thought:

> We have all sinned, some in greater measure, some in less; some on purpose, some by accident, some by our own fault, some by the fault of others; we have not kept our good resolutions; in spite of our will and our resistance we have lost our innocence.

Every night he examined himself: "the one goal of my days and nights is to put an end to my old faults." *Seneca saepe noster*—Seneca is often one of us—said a Christian writer of him. He is, indeed, "often one of us."

Epictetus (c. A.D. 100) was a slave of Nero's freedman Epaphroditus, and while in his service was allowed to

hear the lectures of Musonius Rufus. He was given his freedom, and in his old age lived at Nicopolis in Epirus. Arrian, in the reign of Trajan, wrote down his discourses, and preserved them for posterity. They are full of earnest and devout piety, which occasionally reminds us of St. Francis.

If we had understanding, ought we to do anything else than praise God and sing of his benefits? While we are digging and ploughing and eating, ought we not to sing this hymn? Great is God, who has given us these implements to till the earth; great is God, who has given us hands, and organs to breathe and digest our food. What else can I do, a lame old man, than sing hymns to God? If I were a nightingale, I would do the part of a nightingale; if a swan, I would do like a swan. But as I am a rational creature, my work is to praise God, and I will not cease to do so. I exhort you to join in the same song.

MARCUS AURELIUS SACRIFICING

One appreciates the 'Stoicism' of Marcus Aurelius at its true worth in face of reliefs like this: we see the Emperor as priest sacrificing before an altar, and everything goes to show that he was a devout adherent of the old religion.

The Louvre

He makes much of the daemon, or guardian angel, to whom Zeus has committed the care of every one of us, a guardian who never sleeps nor is deceived. Unlike Seneca, Epictetus condemns suicide, the refuge of so many noble Romans in the first century. "Friends, wait for God," he said. "When he shall give the signal and release you from his service, then go to him; but for the present endure to remain where he has put you. Wait then; do not depart without a reason."

It is curious that he goes back to Diogenes "the Dog" for a model of the highest life. His ideal is to be "a true Cynic." He is far more uncompromising than Seneca; and we find in him that brutal contempt for the female sex, and that abnegation of natural human affection, which also formed the most unlovely side of some cloistered saints under Catholicism. The ascetics of the desert and the begging friars are the Cynics of Christianity. It is, however, fair to Epictetus to say that he abhorred personal uncleanliness—"If a man will not wash, let him either go into a desert, or live alone and smell himself."

After Epictetus Stoicism declined. It had been first a system of philosophy and then a religion—a far more vital faith among the Romans than it ever was among the Greeks. Henceforth the Stoic literature was a quarry for preachers; but men were no longer Stoics. Nor is it difficult to understand why their teaching began to be neglected. Stoicism segregated a man too completely. The Stoic knows nothing between the individual and the universe; his system withers love and affection. The same teachers who instructed Man to follow Nature taught him to repress the best part of Nature; and we are now learning how unwise that is. To quote Dr. Glover, the Stoics made a solitude in the heart and called it peace.

MOREOVER, their religion was too bare to suit average humanity. While they dispensed with all the old mythology, and worshipped natural law and the light within, their contemporaries were craving for ritual and sacraments, and dabbling in magic. The Stoical hope of immortality flickered and burnt dimly—Seneca can give his wife only cold com-

fort after the death of their child: "He is either happy or non-existent." They could hardly be said to worship a personal Deity.

The emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121-180) follows the slave Epictetus in the roll of honor of Roman Stoics. He has been called by Frederick Myers the saint and exemplar of agnosticism. This means that he was no true Stoic, for the Stoics knew their own minds. Renan thinks that the "Meditations" of Marcus, which is an honest soliloquy, "To Himself," "will ever remain young in its life and truth." The phrase is not a happy one. The little book is one of the treasures of devotional literature, but it is neither young nor full of life. It belongs to a *fin de siècle* when men were feeling that the world had grown unutterably old.

DREAMY, sensitive and hopeless, the emperor himself was not fit for his position. He did his duty without enthusiasm, and consoled himself with the precepts of a philosophy in which he never showed himself quite an adept.

Almost everything Stoical has disappeared from this philosophy except the duty of resignation, and the conviction that whether the world without be chaos or cosmos, it rests with us to make the world within a cosmos. It is this remnant of faith which makes him the prophet of so many in our day, when men who can find no secure place to stand upon still repudiate spiritual bankruptcy. But this saint of agnosticism is no true follower of Zeno. His is the swan-song of what was once a robust philosophy.

One curious change has come over Stoicism between Seneca and Marcus. There has been a great revival of the old Roman ritual with its sacrificial cult. The emperor was a great slaughterer of cattle in honor of the gods. As Rendall has said, "To this punctilious and devout form of paganism Marcus was inured from childhood; at the vintage festival he took his part in chant and sacrifice; at eight years old he was admitted to the Salian priesthood; he was observed to perform all his sacerdotal functions with a constancy and exactness unusual at that age; was soon a master of the sacred music; and had all the forms and liturgies by heart. In his triumphal bas-reliefs he stands before the altar, a robed and sacrificing priest."

And yet—for he was after all an autocrat—he tortured and killed the Christians for their "obstinacy" in refusing to join in these established ceremonies. The time was to come—nay, it had already come—when the true inheritors of the Stoic tradition were to be found, not on the throne but in the arena, not with the magistrate in his chair of judgment, but with the uncompromising members of the "third race" who were brought before him. Marcus Aurelius is among the last of the Pagan Stoics; but that creed had a new life in the Christian Church.

ZENO and Epicurus (341-270 B.C.) were contemporaries, and keen rivals while they taught at Athens. This rivalry continued throughout antiquity. In the Roman world the two systems divided between themselves the support of almost all who cared to think. We cannot say precisely when Epicureanism first appeared at Rome. The names of obscure Epicureans at Rome survive, and we hear that they made many converts; but the only great Roman Epicurean is Lucretius.

SEVERAL of Cicero's friends, including Pomponius Atticus, belonged to the sect, and Cicero had his first lessons in philosophy from Phaedrus, an Epicurean. Virgil also attended Epicurean lectures in his boyhood, and learned from them to "free his mind from all care." Philodemus, an Epicurean writer of the Ciceronian age, has had the curious fortune to have his works disinterred in scraps from a villa at Herculaneum. Cicero refers to him as "a certain Greek whom I know to be a person of refinement." The school survived to be endowed at Athens by Marcus Aurelius, but it was detested by Stoics and Platonists alike, and in the fourth century was practically extinct. The Emperor Julian thanks the gods that even the books of the Epicureans are now hard to procure.

And the pious Apostate spoke the truth. The writings of the early Epicureans, and of the founder, have disappeared, and we have to rely for our knowledge of the system partly on the great poem of Lucretius, "On Nature," and partly on the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius, a

compilation made in the third century A.D. These sources of information are eked out by numerous references in Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, Stobaeus and Athenaeus.

The Epicureans were not ascetics, but they lived, on principle, with extreme simplicity. Epicurus condemned no simple and natural enjoyments, but they must be both simple and natural. The greatest of all pleasures is friendship. The school of Epicurus inculcated genial and affectionate relations among all its members, and if a large proportion of them were women, it is not necessary to believe the scandals circulated by their enemies.

The following maxims will give a fair notion of the moral teaching of Epicurus:

If you can live by Nature you will never be poor; if by opinion (fashion), you will never be rich.

You must be a bondman to philosophy, if you wish to gain true freedom. We ought to choose some good man, and do everything, as it were, under his eyes.

It is an evil to live in necessity; but there is no necessity to live in necessity.

The fool is always beginning to live.

To dine without a friend is the life of a lion or a wolf.

If you would make a man happy, do not add to his riches but take away from his desires.

The influence of Epicureanism as a philosophy at Rome was far less than that of Stoicism. Rome contained plenty of epicures, who may have called themselves Epicureans; but these "pigs of Epicurus' sty," as Horace calls them, only brought discredit on a theory of life which was amiable and harmless, if not heroic and public-spirited. But the Romans, both from the strength of their sense of public duty and from their rather gross notions of pleasure, were by nature as antagonistic towards Epicureanism as they were in sympathy with Stoicism.

Yet it was capable of evoking great enthusiasm and unbounded loyalty in minds for which ignoble self-indulgence held no temptation. Lucretius is convinced that Epicurus has finally delivered Mankind from two of the greatest evils, the fear of the gods and the fear of death. This liberation has been brought about by teaching the true principles of natural science—the atomic theory of Democritus, slightly modified by Epicurus. From the modern point of view, this theory is in part valuable—it contains remarkable anticipations of some new discoveries, and every Darwinian is thrilled by Lucretius' sketch of the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest—and in part fanciful.

But the atomic theory has no close connection with the philosophy of pleasure, and the Romans were not much interested in scientific discoveries. "Atheism" was a convenient tin kettle to tie to the tail of a discredited philosophy, and the Epicureans shared with the Christians the reproach of impiety. The succession of practising Epicureans will never die out among cultivated men and women, but such are usually content to enjoy life without making disciples.

THE FLOURISHING OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE

ROME'S NATIVE GENIUS AT WORK UPON THE BLENDED HERITAGE OF GREEK AND ETRUSCAN ART

By H. B. WALTERS, F.S.A.

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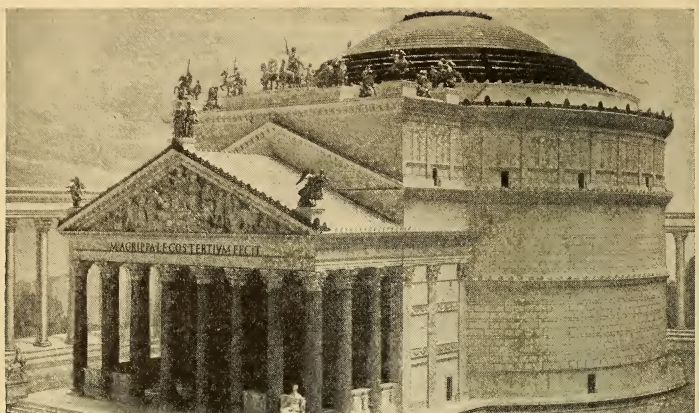
Not so many years ago it was the fashion to regard Roman art, and in particular Roman sculpture, as a debased and purely imitative successor of Greek art, devoid of all originality and true artistic feeling. Virgil, in a well known passage, contrasts the Roman genius for conquest and empire with the more intellectual instinct of the Greeks; and Horace says that 'captive Greece overcame her savage conqueror and introduced the arts into rustic Latium.' Nor is this mere poetical licence. The conquest of Hellas, which was consummated by the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C., effected a change in the mental outlook of the Romans.

On the other hand, recent researches have brought into prominence a truth which the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for Greek art had tended to obscure, namely that there is such a thing as native Roman art, pursuing its own lines independently of the Greek influences with which it never entirely coalesced. The origin of this art we must seek in the neighboring region of Etruria, which, although in the first place owing its culture largely to Greek sources, yet embarked on an artistic course peculiarly its own from the beginning of the sixth century onwards. And it must be remembered that such 'Roman' art as we possess from the time of the Kings down to the middle of the republican period was really Etruscan, and nothing but Etruscan. It was the Etruscans who built and decorated such temples as that of Ceres near the Circus Maximus, and the great temple of the three Capitoline deities on the Capitol. The architecture of these buildings was what Vitruvius, our only authority on the subject, describes as Tuscan, and quite distinct in character and principle from the Doric and Ionic systems of Greece.

In spite of the powerful influence that Greek art always exercised on Etruscan art, which is visible in nearly all its productions, especially those of earlier times, the latter always retains an inherent passion for naturalism, which we shall see to be a marked characteristic of all purely Italian art of the classical period. Among the Etruscans this manifests itself most strongly in a gift for realistic portraiture, a legacy which was handed on in full being to their Roman successors. In the earlier art of Etruria, which was more directly under Greek influence and the conventions of archaic art, this gift was still latent, though there are one or two early statues and busts, such as the bronze bust (c. 600 B.C.) from the Polledrara Tomb at Vulci in the British Museum, which seem to show that it already existed.

Two salient features of Etruscan life and thought were a firm belief in a future life, and a reverence for ancestors. Accordingly their native art was devoted chiefly to the embellishment of the abodes of their dead, and the custom of preserving lifelike memorials of them became universal. The tombs of the later Etruscan period are full of cinerary urns, usually of rectangular form, in clay or stone. On the covers of these are effigies of the occupants, usually very rudely executed, but still preserving a marked individuality in their features. Some are indeed of exceptional merit, both in conception and execution, notably the effigy from Chiusi of Seianti Hanunia, now in the British Museum; it dates from the third century B.C. The Etruscans also favored



FINEST OF ROMAN TEMPLES: THE PANTHEON AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS

Some of the earliest Roman temples were circular, like a peasant's hut, and it is interesting to see that this tendency was not swamped by Greek influence. Even in imperial times we find a temple like the so-called Pantheon of Agrippa being built—probably as late as the reign of Hadrian, for it seems that only the pillared portico can be assigned to the temple erected by Agrippa to the divine patrons of the house of Augustus which was burnt down not long afterwards.

Reconstruction, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; photo, Donald McLeish

the practice of adorning their houses with portraits of their ancestors, usually in the form of busts, a practice which was subsequently adopted by the Romans who placed such portrait studies in the 'atria' (entrance-halls or courts) of their houses.

SOURCE OF ROME'S GENIUS FOR PORTRAITURE

Rome's one outstanding contribution to art, the gift of portraiture, she seems definitely to owe to Etruscan influence. This appears even from the early Etruscan pieces in Chapter 30: but the later effigies on cinerary urns, such as this fine portrait of Seianti Hanunia from Chiusi, clinch the matter.

British Museum

In another branch of art, that of architecture, the Romans did not, perhaps, owe so much to Etruria, although the earlier republican buildings of Rome were the works of Etruscan architects, and entirely Italian in style and conception. Hardly anything now remains in Rome, or indeed in Etruria either, as evidence of this Etrusco-Roman architecture, but we know, for instance, what their temples were like from the description given by Vitruvius. The 'Tuscan' style of architecture, as he terms it, shows a marked difference from the contemporary Greek styles, and the temples were built on an entirely different plan. The columns were quite plain in form, and if there was any sculptured decoration it was usually executed in terra-cotta.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome was built in this style by Etruscan architects, and consisted of three parallel cellae or 'naves,' one for each of the three Capitoline deities (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva), opening in front on a colonnade. This style was adhered to in many later temples in Rome.

Rome's debt to Etruria was not, of course, confined to artistic achievements. Etruscan religious rites and Etruscan skill in building and engineering left their mark on the younger nation in what has been described as 'a groundwork of Italian ruggedness'; and, as we have seen, not only in the time of the Kings, but all through the earlier part of the republican period, Roman culture was really Etruscan. But two causes operated to establish by degrees what may be regarded as genuine Roman art. One was the rapid disappearance of a distinctly Etruscan civilization, due to the growing power of Rome; the other, a revival of Greek influence, which, however, now made itself felt not in Etruria, but in Rome itself. The change was also largely brought about by the Punic Wars, which gave such a great impetus to the development of the Roman people.

The story of Roman art is henceforth the story of the blending of two apparently opposite principles, the somewhat artificial Hellenic culture and the unsophisticated realism of native Italian art. This is well exemplified in the engraved gems of the period, which illustrate what an eminent authority has described as 'old Roman art.' Modern criticism has distinguished from the ordinary ruck of 'Graeco-Roman' gems a series which is of markedly distinct style, and forms a connecting link with the Etruscan gems. They date from the last two centuries of the Roman Republic (or rather about 300-100 B.C.), and the subjects are often taken from Roman legend or religion. On the other hand, there are gems of the same period which bear the impress of Hellenistic Greek influence both in style and subject. With the Hellenizing of Roman culture the former style is gradually merged in the latter, and the Greek artist triumphed.

Having said this much by way of introduction, we may now pursue the subphases from the second century B.C. down to the introduction of Christianity. And ject of Roman art through its various

first we may consider the achievements of the Romans in a sphere which they made specially their own, that of architecture.

As we have already seen, the buildings of the earlier Republican period in Rome were the work of Etruscan architects, and wholly Etruscan in character. Of these buildings, indeed, we really know

THE CORINTHIAN ORDER IN ROME

Rome's rather florid taste preferred the Corinthian to the other Greek orders; and even imparted added floridity to it, as this column capital from the Temple of Castor and Pollux shows. Compare the drawing in Chap. 33.

very little except what ancient writers tell us, owing to the extensive reconstruction which took place under Augustus and his successors, when the Romans had become familiar with the principles of Greek architecture and their buildings tended to lose their old individuality. There are, however, a few buildings which were reconstructed on the old lines, such as the circular temple of Vesta in the Forum or which preserved features of the older style, such as the triple cella or the high raised base. But the typical Italian ground plan of the temple was soon combined with the Greek peripteral colonnade, and Tuscan details were supplanted by adaptations of the Greek Orders, as the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian methods of shaping, ornamenting and disposing of columns and their adjuncts have been called in Gardner's chapter on Greek Art Vol. III).

Roman temples have, indeed, been described as 'Etruscan or Italian buildings in Greek dress.' One important difference, however, is that in many Roman temples the columns do not form a detached colonnade but are sunk into the walls (an arrangement known as 'pseudo-peripteral'). A good example of this is the temple of Fortuna Virilis, erected in 78 B.C. in the Ionic style, and now one of the oldest existing examples of Roman architecture. The only other existing building of the republican period is the Tabularium, or Record Office, on the Capitoline Hill, erected in the same year as the former. The characteristic feature of these buildings is the employment of the architectural orders in a purely decorative way, in order to enrich the wall-surface.

Their modification of Etruscan architectural principles is typical of the character of the Roman people. They were not inventive geniuses on the one hand, nor mere copyists on the other; but they never lost their individuality and all their work was on essentially practical lines. The discovery (or perhaps it is more correct to say rediscovery) of the principle of the constructional arch had very far-reaching effects. For one thing, it enabled them to substitute vaults for flat roofs, and so to cover great spaces with more facility, and thus we find through the imperial period a steady advance in skill and boldness of construction, in which the Pantheon is a midway landmark, culminating in the vast Baths of Caracalla.

The greatness of Roman architecture, it has been said, consists not in its formal completeness, but in its solution of constructive problems and in the development of vertical building. Even after other arts had sunk into mediocrity, vaulting continued to be developed, and the Basilica of Constantine shows an actual advance on earlier efforts. It was in fact architectural construction rather than beauty of outline or decorative effect that appealed to the practical Roman genius.

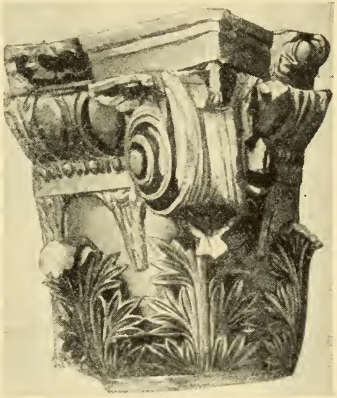
Another feature of Roman architecture is that, whereas the Greek architects devoted their genius almost exclusively to temples, their constructional problems

being for the most part of a simple nature, the Romans regarded secular public buildings as of equal importance, and their construction necessarily involved a much greater variety and freedom of plan and detail. Again, in their baths and similar buildings they succeeded in evolving the most elaborate arrangement of rooms, such as the Greeks had never dreamed of, and could never have accomplished with the limitations of their systems. Where in Greece a connected group of buildings is found, as for instance at the shrine of Asclepios at Epidaurus, each building is a separate unit in itself; whereas in Rome a whole combination of temples, baths and basilicae might be included under one roof. Roman buildings were capable of indefinite extension both horizontally and also (though in a more limited degree) vertically. The Baths of Caracalla is an instance of the former, the Colosseum of the latter.

The use which the Romans made of the various orders of classical architecture is also of some interest. It must always be remembered that at Rome, as also in Greece, the use of these orders was not as a rule successive, like the different Gothic styles in England. In Greece the preference for one style over the other was chiefly due to local reasons, the Ionic order, for instance, being almost invariably used in Asia Minor. In Rome, again, though the Doric and Ionic buildings found there are usually earlier than Corinthian, it is only because in imperial times the latter style appealed more generally to Roman taste. The Tuscan style of early Rome was not, strictly speaking, a distinct order, and is only distinguished by the form of the capital and the unfluted column with base. It is in fact the Italian version of the Doric order. It was only employed during the Republic, before the advent of Greek influence.

The Corinthian order attained the height of its popularity at Rome; in Greece, indeed, it was almost unknown. But the Romans introduced it in buildings as early as the second century B.C., and, moreover, largely improved and developed the form of the capital, which alone distinguishes the Corinthian from the Ionic order. It is best exemplified in the Pantheon and the temple of Castor in the Forum. The 'composite,' capital which combined Ionic and Corinthian details, or rather was developed from the Ionic by the addition of acanthus leaves, was first introduced in the first century of the Empire. It is to be seen in the Arch of Titus and the Forum of Trajan, in which buildings we have virtually a new Roman style, combining the various features of all the orders.

As has already been noted, the Roman temple is not, like the Greek, the chief expression of national architecture. Not that the Romans were an irreligious people, for in many ways their religious



SPECIMEN OF 'COMPOSITE' STYLE

With the Ionic order Rome played havoc, introducing tedious ornament and finally adding to the column capitals the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian; this 'composite' style is illustrated by the fragment above from Trajan's Forum.

instincts were stronger than those of the Greeks, but these had a more subjective basis, and they did not, therefore, feel the same need for outward expression. As we have seen, the essentially practical Roman mind, which Pliny describes as 'savagely utilitarian,' regarded their basilicae, baths and fora as being of equal importance with their temples, and in this respect (as in many others) there is the same parallel with Greece that exists between modern civilization and

the Middle Ages. For the Greeks, as for the medieval builder or craftsman, art was essentially the handmaid of religion, and in studying the achievements of both it is necessarily to their sacred buildings that we turn. We should hardly do so for the work of the Victorian Era, and, similarly, in the case of the Romans it is their secular architecture that evokes the greatest interest. Though some of the Roman temples present remarkable features of construction or architectural detail, there are at any rate none conspicuous for beauty or grandeur and with the exception of the great buildings at Baalbek in Syria the same applies to the provinces.

A peculiarly Roman development was the circular temple, the type of which was probably derived from the circular hut of Romulus on the slopes of the Palatine Hill. Of this type a well known example still exists in Rome. The charming little temple in the Forum Boarium near the Tiber, with its modern tiled roof, familiar to us from old pictures of Rome, remains practically complete, with its colonnade of graceful Corinthian columns. It dates from the reign of Augustus.

The Pantheon, which was originally erected in 27 B.C., marks a revival of this primitive style. It consists of a rotunda surmounted by a dome, 142 feet in diameter and 140 feet high, with a large portico, and is certainly one of the finest of Roman temples. The present building is a restoration of the time of Hadrian. In the combination of a circular domed structure with a triple-chambered portico we may observe a method of construction which was afterwards developed in Byzantine and Romanesque architecture, and may even be reflected in the Round Churches of the Templars in England.

It was not until the beginning of the imperial period that the Romans began to pay special attention to secular architecture. Hitherto even the gods had been modestly housed, and as Juvenal says, 'nowhere did marble spoil the effect of the native tufa.' It was only the ambition of the emperors which began to cover Rome with splendid buildings for all kinds of purposes, public and domestic, and this began with Augustus and his familiar boast that he found a Rome of brick and left one of marble. So the space on the north side of the Forum came to be filled with new Fora, each containing temples, law-courts and commemorative monuments, and on the opposite side the Palatine Hill was entirely covered with the palaces of the Caesars. Thus Republican Rome became gradually transformed out of recognition.

The series of great buildings which was inaugurated in the reign of Augustus included the Fora of the emperors, which were surrounded by temples, basilicae and other official structures, theaters and amphitheaters, public baths and imperial residences. These were mostly built of concrete with a facing of brick, and again covered with stucco or marble.

The main difference between Greek and Roman sculpture is that the one is essentially idealizing in its aims, the other is realistic, and manifests itself mainly in portraits of living people or in reliefs recording historical events. In dealing therefore with Roman sculpture, we must employ a somewhat different method from that which would be appropriate in treating of Greek. There is no question of special well defined schools or of eminent artists, nor again is it a matter of a continuous development and subsequent decadence, as in Greek art. Roman art is eclectic, and exhibits different tendencies at different times, quite independent of each other, and arising out of the imitative and unoriginal character of the Roman artist. To such work it is consequently often difficult to assign an exact date; it is not, for instance, always easy to distinguish Roman work from that of the later Greek or Hellenistic period, and when we are dealing with obvious Roman copies of Greek work the difficulty is, of course, still more accentuated.

The fact is that except in the two branches of portraiture and historical monuments, Roman art is not of independent native growth. These two phases and their chief characteristics will be duly considered in their turn, but a few words must first be said on the relation of Roman sculpture to that of Greece, and the influence exercised by the latter.

ETRUSCAN AND GREEK INFLUENCE MEET

The Etruscans, we have seen, were responsible for Roman skill in portraiture. These two terra-cotta heads show the transition. Both are Roman; but whereas the first (left) is almost purely Etruscan in style, in the second (a relief) there has appeared more than a trace of Greek idealization.

British Museum

Roman sculpture in the round, and also to some extent in relief, nearly all falls under one of two heads: copies and imitations. Sculptures which are obvious copies of Greek works of art have their value for the light they throw on the history of Greek art and the work of Greek artists, but they have no meaning whatever as examples of Roman art. They are in fact the work of Greek artists trained in Greek methods, and were made for their wealthy Roman patrons who had acquired a taste for art somewhat similar to that of the modern parvenu.

Imitations of Greek work on the other hand aimed at reproducing the style of some particular school or period rather than individual works. There was even a fashion about the time of Augustus—somewhat analogous to the pre-Raphaelite movement—of reproducing the archaic Greek style. In another contemporary class of works, known as the 'new-Attic' reliefs, a somewhat later period is imitated, namely the Attic work of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C., which was characterized by a quaint and delicate refinement. In these we find certain types repeated over and over again, or variously combined, until they become little more than decorative motives. Hence they come to be reproduced in other materials, such as metal work and pottery. The school of Pasiteles again, which also flourished in the Augustan age, endeavored to reproduce the characteristics of this period of Greek art, while that of Arcesilaus combined with the idyllic tendencies of the Hellenistic period a naturalistic treatment of landscape and plant-forms which plainly show the influence of Alexandrine taste in Rome. In none of these movements is there anything which can be characterized as distinctively Roman.

For that we must turn to the Ara Pacis Augustae, or altar erected in 13 B.C. by Augustus to Imperial Peace, in commemoration of his victories in Spain and Gaul. It stood in the Campus Martius, and is certainly the greatest achievement of the decorative art of the Augustan age. But it also introduces a new principle into commemorative sculpture, in its glorification of the Roman Emperor, a principle which as we shall see is peculiarly Roman and more than anything else gives an individual character to the art of the imperial period. The Greeks commemorated historical events by monuments on which heroic or mythical legends were celebrated, such as battles of the gods and giants, or Greeks and Amazons; but the Romans either depicted the events themselves, or else the personages concerned in them, in a more or less idealized fashion.

The Ara Pacis is a monument of the latter type. It represents members of the imperial house and Roman nobles assembled to sacrifice at the new altar, with a procession in honor of the goddess of Peace on one side, and on the other an allegorical group of Tellus, the Earth Mother, and attendant deities (see page 1000). In the last-named group the treatment is essentially pictorial; and in the decoration generally we see the naturalism of the Augustan age at its best—"the grandeur that was Rome" immortalized.

REALISM AND IDEALISM COMBINED

Even in the Augustan age the Etruscan tradition of accurate portraiture flowed strong beneath the surface current of Greek influence; as shown by this head of the young Augustus, idealized and delicately modeled but still individual.

Vatican Museum, Rome; photo, Brogi

It has already been suggested that one of the most successful and characteristic phases of Roman art was portraiture. In this branch of art the Romans found full scope for their realistic tendencies, and it was maintained at a high level even down to the degenerate days of the later Empire.

Nor is this realistic portraiture a new invention of the Augustan age. The Etruscan portrait-heads in terra-cotta, which date from the fourth and third centuries B.C., are both lifelike and individual, however inferior in workmanship. They were succeeded by a series of terra-cotta heads, of which many examples are to be found in our museums, though often treated with undue neglect, in which a strain of Hellenistic idealism has crept in, without obscuring the Etruscan passion for truthfulness. It is probable, however, that most of the Etruscan work was in bronze, of which the statue, the famous Orator or Arringatore already mentioned, is the finest example; it was, of course, in this material that they mainly excelled. But the terra-cotta heads exemplify the work of republican Rome in this direction during the third and second centuries B.C., and are well worthy of study even if not notable works of art.

The radical difference between Greek and Roman portraiture is worth noting. The Greek portrait sculptor aimed not so much at individuality as at reproducing a type, in accordance with the general tendency of Greek art. This distinction between the two races seems to have been a permanent one. The tendency has a further result: that in Roman sculpture the individuality of the artist forbids identification of his work, and there are no schools of sculptors as in Greek art, in which the creation of a type often enables us to recognize the artist.

The realism of Roman portraits is well exemplified at the beginning of the imperial age by the well known portraits of Julius Caesar and Augustus. But it is tempered by the idealistic training of the Greek artists who were mainly employed for such work, and whose task was to combine the realism with a faithful adherence to artistic principles. In this they may be said to have achieved decided success.

In the succeeding period, from Augustus to Vespasian, it is not in the imperial personages that we find the best specimens of the art—some indeed have been described as 'frankly vulgar'—but in the portraits of unknown persons. Under the Flavian emperors portraiture reaches its highest point, and the Greek artists show extraordinary skill in the combination of the Hellenic and Roman elements.

It is also interesting, as illustrating the later progress of portraiture, to contrast the representations of Trajan and Hadrian. Trajan is the typical 'old Roman'; Hadrian is more cosmopolitan, 'the man of the world.' The latter was the first Roman emperor to adopt a beard, in which he was followed by most of his successors, and in Hadrian's case it has been thought to imply his Hellenic and philosophical sympathies. There is, moreover, in the portraits of Hadrian a distinctly Hellenic tendency towards the ideal and typical.

In the Antonine age Greek influence continued to be felt, but less strongly. Technical skill devotes itself to accurate modelling, but at the expense of life and inspiration. Still we have one or two fine representations of Marcus Aurelius, especially the famous equestrian statue on the Capitol, which aroused Michelangelo's admiration; and the portraits of the two Faustinas are fine and probably truthful pieces of work. The busts of Commodus bring out most effectively the egotism and self-indulgence of that emperor, combined with a certain quality of beauty and strength. Still more realistic are the portraits of Caracalla (see page 1138), the most ferocious of all the Roman emperors, whose character is most effectively portrayed in busts in the Berlin Museum and elsewhere.

In the third century there is a distinct artistic improvement in the imperial portraits, and that of Decius roused the enthusiasm of Riegl, a great champion of later Roman art, who declares that it 'could not be called significant of artistic decay.' Best of all perhaps is the bust of Philippus Arabs in the Vatican, which, but for the unnatural treatment of the hair, is a finely rendered and characteristic piece of work. In fact, these busts show that the national gift for portraiture held its own when in other respects art was lapsing into the dullest mediocrity.

A typical feature of imperial portraits is the representation of living personages in deified form or in semi-mythological guise. The famous Clytie in the British Museum is the best-known example; it has been supposed to represent Antonia, the daughter of Marcus Antonius, in the character of a nymph who was beloved of Phoebus and was changed by him into a flower; but the combination of bust and flower here is probably purely decorative.

The great impetus given to art under the Flavian emperors, which is exemplified in the portraits of the time, was due to the increased skill of the native Roman artist, who broke free from the conventions of the Augustan age and produced a new national art full of vigor and realism. During the century from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, Roman art was at its best, although it was not always manifested in the same way.

ANTONIA PORTRAYED AS A NYMPH

The so-called Clytie possibly represents Antonia (daughter of Mark Antony) in the guise of a nymph who was changed to a flower by Phoebus—thus illustrating the typical Roman device of identifying human with divine persons.

British Museum

Under the Flavian dynasty the artist's chief aim was an imitative naturalism which was intended to give an impression of real objects or persons, corresponding in principle, though not in method, to the aim of the impressionist artist of modern days. Under Trajan the historical monument or graphic record of actual events becomes prominent; while under Hadrian, with his cosmopolitan tastes and somewhat dilettante attitude towards art, it attained a more widespread popularity, even if it tended to reaction in the imitation and repetition of classical Greek types, and thus lacked originality and creative power.

The historical monument, though strictly a creation of the Flavian period, as we see in the Arch of Titus, was brought to its perfection under Trajan, in whose time it became, whether in the form of the arch, column or relief, the usual method of commemorating important events. From an artistic point of view, indeed, it sins against many of

the canons of true art, ignoring as it does limitations of material and technique, and often exhibiting a lack of decorative instinct. It is rather for their subject than for their artistic merit that we value such monuments, as illustrating the national preference for historic sculpture, and preserving a pictorial record of the great events of the time.

These monuments were made the subject of a very stimulating study by F. Wickhoff, a German artist and art critic, who claims that Roman art in its later phases introduced a new method of telling a story—that of the 'continuous narrative,' or representation of several episodes of the subject as taking place simultaneously. Greek art, he says, knew only two methods of telling a story, the 'isolating' and the 'complementary.'

The continuous method is not, however, wholly new or purely Roman. It is indeed an invariable feature of barbaric and early art, and possibly that is why it appealed to the Romans, whose artistic perceptions were weaker than those of the Greeks. This may also well explain why the early Christians took so readily to this method. It should rather be said that Roman artists of the time of Trajan were the first to introduce a method of telling a story in which successive actions were represented as taking place simultaneously, the same personages being depicted as taking part in some or all at one time. This is the method regularly adopted in early Christian art.

Another of Wickhoff's theories is that the monuments of the post-Augustan period illustrate an entirely new principle, which he terms 'illusionism,' and which, as we have already noted, corresponds in some degree to modern 'impressionism.' The aim of the Roman artist is to treat his figures without regard to their architectural surroundings, just as the modern painter manipulates patches of color with the object of producing a certain optical

MASTERLY ILLUSION OF A MULTITUDE ON TRAJAN'S ARCH AT BENEVENTUM

The great triumphal arch erected in honor of Trajan at Beneventum can scarcely have been completed before his death, since this befell, in A.D. 117, during his return from the Parthian expedition, on which he is depicted as setting out in the panel above. The scene is one of sacrifice, and all the other scenes represent isolated incidents; but the emperor appears as the central figure throughout—a combination of the 'isolating' and 'continuous' styles of monumental record.

Photo, Alinari

result for the spectator. It is indeed a principle derived from pictorial art, as we shall see in considering the Pompeian paintings.

In the Arch of Titus, where the sacred vessels captured from the Temple at Jerusalem are represented as being carried in a triumphal procession (see Chap. 20), we are intended to look at a picture of the procession marching past, through an open frame. This result is obtained by working the back row of figures in flat relief on the background, so that they cast no shadow. It was, in fact, a discovery by sculpture of a third dimension; though, as another critic has pointed out, it was an achievement of doubtful merit, the flatter treatment of the art of Trajan's time being better suited to architectural decoration.

The reign of Trajan marks the culmination of the historical monument. We have not only the great column in the emperor's Forum, but also his arch at Beneventum in southern Italy, and the series of reliefs from the Forum which Constantine the Great afterwards took to decorate his triumphal arch. The latter represent the victories and triumphs of the emperor, all crowded into a narrow space, an artistic device to produce the impression of an unbroken series of events passing before the spectator.

In the arch at Beneventum, on the other hand, the decoration recalls the arch of Titus; it combines, however, the isolating with the continuous style, the scenes being linked together by the presence of the principal personage in each. The subjects depicted illustrate on the one side the emperor's domestic policy, on the other his foreign or colonial relations.

The column of Trajan is a striking example of the continuous method. We note the prominence given to the emperor, who appears in the center of every part of the composition as we follow the spiral series of reliefs winding up from the base to the top. In all, his figure appears ninety times, and yet the repetition, as Wickhoff says, is far from wearisome.

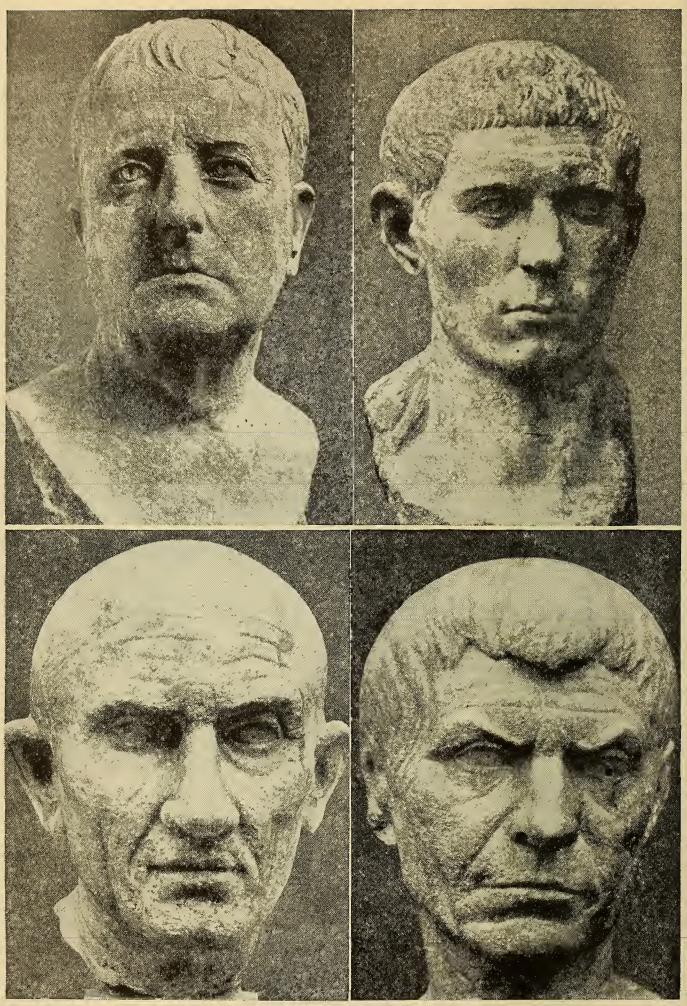
The various scenes comprise not only every kind of military incident, but also the triumphal celebrations which followed. They are, in fact, a pictorial chronicle in stone, rather than artistic compositions.

THE SPLENDID ARTISTRY OF TRAJAN'S COLUMN

The best extant model of 'continuous' sculpture is the Column of Trajan at Rome. The spiral band that mounts its 97-foot shaft shows incident after incident of the Dacian campaign, giving the impression of an unbroken story. Here Father Danube blesses the Roman army crossing by a bridge of boats.

Photo, Alinari

The reign of Hadrian brought a reaction in the direction of classicism and eclecticism. Another striking feature is to be found in the sarcophagi with reliefs, which, though not a new feature of Roman art, now acquired increasing popularity. The ornamental sarcophagus was a great feature of Etruscan art, and was never popularized in Greece. The earlier Roman examples are seldom ornamented with any but decorative motives, such as festoons, but in the second century they came to be sculptured both on front and sides with mythological subjects, largely conventionalized from original



ARRESTING PORTRAITS OF NAMELESS ROMANS BY NAMELESS ARTISTS

Many of the portrait busts of Roman emperors are magnificent achievements; but they do not excell the work of Republican craftsmen, such as the four subjects above (one—top left—is of terra-cotta, once colored). It is amazing that we do not know the names of any of these master sculptors.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (top left) and Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

Greek compositions. They are mostly good examples of the continuous style, for which the elongated surfaces of their fronts were well adapted, and the execution varies from a fairly high level of merit to a degenerate and careless grouping of crowded figures. They never really rise above the level of good decorative work, but have their value as mythological if not as artistic monuments.

In some we see a revival of the classicist style of the Augustan age, as in a well known example from the Villa Albani at Rome, representing the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis. Another type is well represented by the sarcophagus with Achilles in Scyros in the Capitoline Museum; but in this the tendency to a mechanical and crowded method of composition is apparent, and we feel that sculpture is nearing the point of exhaustion. A third variety, which perhaps traces its ancestry to the fourth-century Greek sarcophagi from Sidon, has an arrangement of columns along the front with single figures or groups between them. Of this we shall shortly have to consider a striking late development.

Returning to the age of the Antonines, which carries on the combination of the continuous method with classical eclecticism, we find little work of outstanding merit, although some writers, like Professor Dill, regard it as 'an age of splendid public spirit and great material achievement.' The masterpiece of this period is the column of Marcus Aurelius, which, though not so impressive, may be compared with that of Trajan as an example of the continuous style.

The history of sculpture during the third century of the Empire is, on the whole, a record of steady degeneration, only relieved by some excellent examples of portraiture, and by the sculptures on the arches of Septimius Severus and Constantine the Great. There is, indeed, an entire departure from Roman methods and principles, in the introduction of the frontality which is such a marked feature of the sculpture of Constantine's time; and its rigidity and squareness is the forerunner of the Byzantine mosaics.

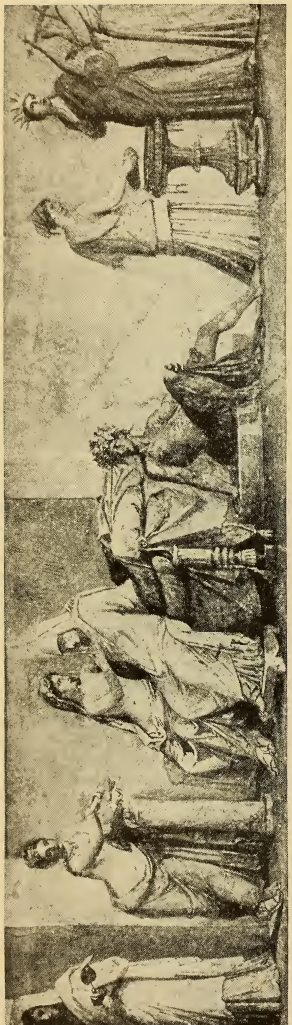
This study of Roman art is necessarily in the main occupied with its two chief manifestations, in architecture and sculpture. But our survey would not be complete without a glance at the other provinces in which Roman art achieved a considerable measure of success. They equally serve to illustrate its capabilities.

Taking first the consideration of Roman painting, we at once find ourselves in an advantageous position, as compared with what we know of Greek efforts in this branch of art. While of the latter we have practically no remains, at any rate no masterpieces from the great artists, of Roman painting, we have a considerable amount of material. Roman paintings fall into two categories: wall paintings or frescoes, and easel paintings or pictures.

For our knowledge of Roman painting in general we are chiefly indebted to the excavations at Pompeii, and in a lesser degree to paintings found in Rome itself and the neighborhood. The majority of the paintings in Rome take the form of landscapes, a branch of art in which the Greeks seem to have been even more backward than the old Italian masters. But the Greeks did not care in the least about landscape, and indeed the medieval painters merely regarded it as an effective background for their figure subjects. On the other hand, in the Roman paintings of the Augustan age landscape is often the main theme of the picture, and moreover shows by its truthfulness an appreciation of nature which was quite foreign to Greek taste.

The finest examples of landscape painting which have come down to us are the Odyssey landscapes found on the Esquiline at Rome and now in the Vatican library. They date from about the beginning of the Christian era, and the subjects are taken from the wanderings of Ulysses described in the tenth and eleventh books of the Odyssey. Here the landscape distinctly predominates over the figures, in spite of the interest of the subjects; the style is distinctly impressionist. Two paintings in the British Museum, one of Ulysses passing the Sirens, the other of the fatal flight of Icarus, are of similar style.

There are also two admirable examples of Roman painting of this time in the House of Livia on the Palatine, one representing Polyphemus courting the nymph Galatea, the other Hermes delivering Io from Argus. Similar subjects are found



EXQUISITE FRESCO PAINTING FOUND IN ROME ITSELF: THE SO-CALLED ALDOBRANDINI MARRIAGE

In the fresco known as the Aldobrandini Marriage we have Roman painting at its best. Some see in it a copy of a fourth-century Greek masterpiece; and without doubt its composition and obvious allegory—with Hymen sitting by the nuptial couch and goddesses about the waiting bride—are Greek in spirit. But more probably it is an original expression of a still living art: Roman, or, if we prefer the term, Hellenistic.

Vatican Library; photo, Anderson

at Pompeii, but the Roman examples are certainly superior in conception and execution. An even finer work is the 'Aldobrandini marriage' in the Vatican, which represents a bride preparing for the nuptial procession. In its delicate grace and disregard of realism a great authority sees a reflection of the characteristics of Greek fourth-century masterpieces, though the picture itself is not older than the first century B.C.

At Pompeii the employment of mural painted decoration was almost universal and we are fortunate in the circumstances that have led to so much being preserved. The Pompeian styles of painting have been divided into four successive periods, extending from the Hellenistic age down to the destruction of the town. The 'incrustation' style of the first period is so called as being an imitation of the fashion of inlaying with slabs of colored marble ('crustae'), the panels of the walls being painted in plain ground colors. The next stage is known as the 'architectural,' in which pictures are introduced in an architectural setting which acts as a framework, and produces a sort of illusory perspective. The third, or 'ornate,' style retains the architectural setting, but in a quite subordinate position. Lastly, the 'intricate' style, which lasted from about A.D. 50 down to 79, and to which most of the existing paintings belong, shows the complete evolution of the 'illusionism' of the Flavian period.

The subjects of the Pompeian paintings fall under four headings: mythological, 'genre' (i.e. representing scenes from everyday life), landscape and still life, the majority belonging to the first class. The mythological subjects were usually selected for their dramatic or psychological interest, such as the subjects from the Tale of Troy in the house of Castor and Pollux, or for the expression of emotion, as in the

painting of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia in the house of the Tragic Poet. Others were merely reduced to studies of human figures and landscapes, or degenerate into more or less idyllic love scenes. Many of them, however, are doubtless copies or reflections of famous Greek originals, such as the Medea slaying her children, found at Herculaneum, or the infant Hercules strangling the serpents in the House of the Vettii, based on a masterpiece by Zeuxis. The transformation of mythology into genre is well illustrated by a series of paintings in the last-named house, representing Cupids engaged in various occupations of daily life, such as making and selling oil or wine or acting as goldsmiths or fullers.

It is a curious fact that the destruction of Pompeii seems to have synchronized with the almost complete disappearance of the art of painting in the Roman world. Its place was taken by a new method of decoration, that of mosaic, which in spite of its obvious limitations yet proved a very effective form of graphic art. Originally practiced in the East, it was introduced first into Italy about the middle of the second century B.C., and was used both for floors and for wall decoration. Subsequently it spread to the provinces, and some of the finest achievements in

EXTRAORDINARY FRESCO IN THE 'INTRICATE' STYLE FROM POMPEII

The fresco paintings at Pompeii are more Greek than the Aldobrandini Marriage; and one feels surprise that the latter is decidedly superior. They fall into successive periods, of which an example of the fourth, or 'intricate,' from the House of the Vettii is given above. In this every device of 'illusionism' is employed, the architectural setting being often designed to give a sense of vanishing perspective. The dado, however, imitates marble in the first or 'incrustation' style.

Photo, Brogi

HOW THE HOUSE WALLS OF WEALTHY ROMANS WERE ADORNED

Many Pompeian paintings are 'genre'; and a transition to these from the mythological subjects is probably afforded by a group in the House of the Vettii showing Cupids at various trades. In this strip they are acting as fullers.

British Museum (photo, Mansell); National Museum, Naples, and Pompeii (photo, Brogi)

this direction during the Empire are to be found in the pavements of houses in Gaul, Germany and Britain.

The earlier mosaics in Italy show the influence of Alexandrine art, such as the great mosaic from Palestrina at Naples, representing an Egyptian landscape at the time of an inundation of the Nile (see page 986). Another fine example of the Republican period is the marvelously pictorial mosaic in the House of the Faun at Pompeii representing Alexander the Great and Darius at the Battle of the Issus, a copy of a Greek work of a period of two hundred years earlier. As a tour de force in an unpromising material, it is a marvel of spirited dramatic composition, which rightly evoked the admiration of Goethe. The later mosaics, for the best examples of which we have to go to the provincial remains in central Europe and North Africa, are more definitely Roman in spirit as well as in theme, but they all bear the stamp of the general artistic decadence which set in during the latter days of the Roman Empire. We must, however, bear in mind that this was one of the few arts which survived the spread of Christianity in the Empire, and that we owe to Roman inspiration the splendid decoration of many early Western and Byzantine churches, basilicas and cathedrals.

SKILFUL PICTORIAL USE OF MOSAIC

Mosaic work was introduced to the Roman world from the East, and was employed with great felicity in Africa. This head of Summer is part of a composition representing the various months and seasons found at Carthage, dating from about A.D. 250.

British Museum

Another branch of art in which the Romans achieved real success was that of gem engraving. The earliest Roman gems, as we have already seen, are among our few sources of information for the development of native art under the Republic. In these, two streams of influences, native and foreign, at first distinct, gradually unite until the victory of the foreign results in a complete disappearance of individuality. This, however, is only true of the engraved gems or intaglios. Another branch of the art, namely cameo-cutting, which had been somewhat tentatively practised by the Greeks of the Hellenistic age, was more successful in its appeal both to the Roman artist and to the Roman public.

In the Augustan age it reached the height of its popularity; not only was it employed for portraits of popular imperial personages, but its use was extended to the production of historical or quasi-historical subjects. One of the finest examples of the latter is the Gemma Augustea in Vienna, measuring about 8½ by 7½ inches, and representing the deification of Augustus. Another famous cameo is the British Museum portrait of Augustus, which has been attributed (as has also the Vienna cameo) to the great gem-engraver of the period, Dioscorides. But the popularity of the cameo was brief, and by the end of the first century the art had sunk to the same level as the gem engraving.

Artistic metal-working also received a great impetus in the Augustan age, when Roman decorative art was at its height. Chasing in gold and silver had been practised with great success, especially in Asia Minor in the fourth century B.C., and doubtless the general looting of the art treasures of the East in the campaigns of Mummius and Sulla flooded Rome with metal masterpieces, which were not only prized but largely imitated. The general increase of luxury in the later days of the Republic further assisted the development of this industry, which, as will be seen, exercised a powerful influence on other branches of decorative art, such as terra-cotta work and pottery. But, like that of cameo cutting, its popularity was short-lived.

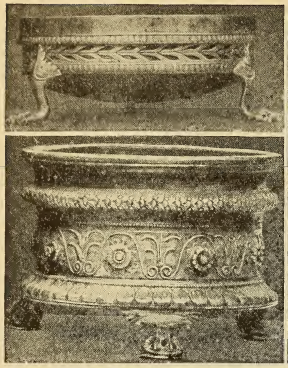
MASTERPIECE OF A CAMEO CUTTER

The promise of originality in the earlier Roman gems bore fruit in the making of cameos. This head of Augustus is a genuine masterpiece

British Museum

The chief products of the Roman metal workers are in silver, and we are fortunate in possessing several remarkable 'treasures,' or collections of plate belonging to wealthy Romans of the time of Augustus, besides single specimens. The most splendid of these is the Boscoreale treasure found near Pompeii and now mostly in the Louvre, while Berlin can boast the Hildesheim treasure and Paris that of Bernay. The Boscoreale treasure can be dated earlier than A.D. 79, as the site was overwhelmed by the eruption of that year, and is in fact earlier in style.

The vessels are mostly table-ware, in the form of drinking-cups, bowls and jugs, but intended for ornament rather than use. The bowls are usually decorated with designs in high relief; the jugs have subjects in the 'classical' style of the Augustan period; and of the cups the two finest have reliefs relating to the glorification of Augustus and Tiberius. They fall in line with the large cameos just described. Though Alexandrine influence is strongly at work, it is not the only influence, and some of the pieces actually bear the names of local artists. They illustrate, in fact, the tendency of



SILVER WARE OF A SUMPTUOUS AGE

The Augustan age was the great period of metal working, principally in silver. As shown by the ornamental bowl from Hildesheim on the right with Athena in high relief, the results were magnificently decorative but had little originality. Of the two vessels on the left, that above is also from Hildesheim, while the second belongs to the find at Boscoreale.

Photos, Giraudon

the period to follow certain decorative principles with little or no regard to the material employed. The work indeed is not creative art, and it therefore leaves no strong impression, but it does show the remarkable and highly developed decorative instincts of the Roman artists at this time.

The same tendency is at work in the terra-cotta mural reliefs and the pottery of the period; in them the same decorative motives are reproduced over and over again, as in the metal work, in many cases owing their origin to earlier Greek work, but treated with a sense of composition and appropriateness to their material which redeems them from dullness. The terra-cotta reliefs were applied to the decoration of Roman houses and villas, and the subjects were either mythological or purely decorative. Cicero speaks of using them to decorate his house. The style is usually 'new-Attic.' The pottery which we have mentioned was made almost exclusively at Arretium (Arezzo) in Tuscany, and the vases, made in a highly glazed red clay, are close imitations of metal work. They often bear the names of their Roman makers, of whom the chief were M. Perennius and P. Cornelius. It is an interesting commentary on the different conditions of culture in Greece and Italy that the Greeks were content with clay vessels for ordinary purposes, and that their artists found it worth their while to lavish their best efforts on their painted decoration; while the more luxurious Romans were content with nothing less than precious metal, and those in humble circumstances had to be content with clay imitations.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM AND ITS WORLD SIGNIFICANCE

TRACING THE RISE OF JUDAISM AFTER THE EXILE AND THE EFFECT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY BY TITUS

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THE civilization of Europe is in the main the result of three formative influences: the system of the Romans, the artistic and intellectual genius of the Greeks, and thirdly those ideas and ideals which were the product of the Jews and which were perpetuated in part directly by the continuance of the Jewish race, in part through the specific development they underwent in the Christian Church. Our task is not so much to discuss the history of the Jews as to outline the rise of Judaism.

The pre-exilic Kingdom of Judah came to an end when the Babylonian army having twice captured Jerusalem, in 597 and again in 586 B.C., deported to Babylonia a great number of its principal inhabitants. At the latter date the Jewish resistance was utterly broken, the Temple burnt, and such colossal breaches made in the walls that the city was left defenceless. Fifty years later the Chaldaeo-Babylonian Empire itself collapsed before the onset of the Medes and Persians under Cyrus; but fifty years would have been long enough for the exiles, and for the shattered remnants in Palestine, to have lost national coherence, had it not been for their response to the power and insight of the teaching given by certain great personalities in their midst.

The canonical Jewish account of this period, given in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, is unsatisfactory. Its author, who was also the compiler of the Books of Chronicles, and lived in Jerusalem about 300 B.C., dismisses the Exilic years in a single verse; his knowledge of the early Persian period is fragmentary and confused; nor is he reliable even for the events of a hundred years later, Nehemiah's time.

The Chronicler supposed that the Babylonian army swept into exile the entire worth, intellectual and moral, of the Judaean Kingdom, and that not only was Judah denuded of its population but that the few who remained, mixing with other Palestinian folk (all of whom, including the inhabitants of the Samaritan area, he regarded as virtually pagan), became so forgetful of Jehovah, so apostate and heathenish, as to be thereafter religiously worthless. The 'blue blood' of Jewish life and faith maintained its purity in Babylonia. Thence, the sins of their forefathers purged away in the sufferings and shame of the Exile, and themselves enlightened by its discipline, a vast company of loyal exiles (some 50,000) returned with the permission of Cyrus, in 539 B.C., to the desolate Zion.

Their godly wish at once to restore the Temple was, however, frustrated through the unpardonable jealousy of their 'adversaries,' the people of the land. Not until 516 B.C. could that pious endeavor be achieved, and not until seventy years later, under the heroic Nehemiah and in face of the malign but this time futile opposition of the Samaritans, were the city walls rebuilt and the loyal Jewish community safely established. About the same time its strength was augmented by the advent of a second splendid company of returning exiles from Babylonia, led by a champion of orthodoxy, Ezra the Scribe, who instructed the people in the perfect Law of Moses and won them to adopt it enthusiastically as the constitution of the renewed Jewish State.

Such is the tone of the Chronicler's account. It is by no means devoid of truth, although it is radically unjust to the non-exilic 'people of the land.' Fortunately, its doctrinaire bias can be corrected, its artificialities discounted, its confusions considerably straightened out, and its omissions filled in from other sources. Many problems remain, complex and obscure, and the total information is meager; but it is possible to present the history in truer perspective.

We have to rid ourselves of the notion of an almost depopulated Judah. The mass of the country folk remained, and even Jerusalem was not entirely deserted.

We have next to note that a shifting and increase of population took place in Judah. Urged northwards by pressure from Arab tribes farther south, there was an incursion of semi-nomadic people into southern Judah, and clans and families of Edomite and semi-Edomite blood moved upwards from the south of Judah towards Jerusalem.

Thirdly, it would seem probable that the relations between the changing Judaean and the Samaritan districts were increasingly friendly, so that the land tended towards unity. Moreover, the population as a whole was more loyally Hebraic or Jewish in its attitude to Jehovah than the Chronicler's scanty information and late orthodox standpoint enabled him to suppose.

For the countryside, then, the fall of the state and the incursion of new settlers were not unmitigated evils. But there were also darker features in the scene; and—to sum up—when the actual facts of the revival after 539 B.C. are closely studied, it seems clear there was a certain impotence in the Palestinian Jews, and that while this native population presented material on which ardent minds could work, the indispensable impulse came from elsewhere. Had those left in Palestine been the only Jews, it seems in the last degree improbable that Judaism would ever have been created.

Whence then came the galvanic impulse? Not from the Jews in Egypt, even though they may have been numerous before 586 B.C., and though a large body fled thither soon after 586 B.C., carrying Jeremiah with them. Jeremiah is quite explicit on the religious degeneracy of these fugitives.

Our attention concentrates, therefore, on the third possible source—the exiles taken to Babylonia in 597 and 586 B.C.; and they repay attention. For it was here that those beliefs were grasped, and that system of worship initiated, which was not only to save the race-consciousness of the Jews but was to exercise incalculable influence on the history of Western civilization. The interesting thing is that although these exiles included the whole of the influential citizens and priests of Jerusalem, the maintenance of even their faith turned on a knife-edge, and was due to the genius essentially of three great personalities: Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the unknown writer of the fortieth to the fifty-fifth chapters of Isaiah.

To the earlier band of exiles of 597 B.C., cut off from the worship of the Temple, Jeremiah wrote a letter commanding them in the name of Jehovah their God to settle quietly in the land and 'seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried captive and pray unto Jehovah for it; for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace.' This is to say that Israel's God, being God of all the earth, and loving mercy and not sacrifice, can be worshiped as freely in Babylonia as in Palestine. This great thought—the modern as opposed to the ancient, 'localized,' conception of Deity—took root in the Jewish mind, became axiomatic, and is of course the basis on which the Jewish communities scattered eventually over the civilized world maintained their religious existence.

At first, however, the exiles of 597 B.C. were in despair. The fact that Jerusalem and the Temple still stood seemed to them the only remaining refuge for their faith, and when in 586 B.C. the city was again captured and sacked, and the Temple itself burnt, their consternation was complete and persistent.

At this crisis there blazed forth in their midst the message of a man of spiritual genius, Ezekiel, who in the course of a lifetime of exhortation and personal example succeeded in driving home to the mind and conscience of his fellow-exiles, or of the more thoughtful among them, those convictions, theological and ethical, which became the strong framework of Judaism.

He pictured brilliantly and wistfully a Jerusalem restored; and so restored and

ordered as to ensure that the laws of 'clean' and 'unclean,' of holiness in the technical sense, might be perfectly observed by a People whose heart also was clean.

In this the influences of his youthful experience as a Priest of the Jerusalem Temple are visible, and it is customary from the modern standpoint to blame Ezekiel (and the Jewish leaders who were at one with him in his teaching) for thus incorporating into Judaism an irrational and non-moral element. But in its ancient setting the question cannot be judged so simply. Granting that henceforth the supreme danger against which Jewish religion would have to guard itself was the temptations of 'legalism,' it seems historically certain that the distinctive customs involved in the 'ritual-holiness' ideal—especially circumcision, the dietary laws, the observance of the Sabbath and abstention from marriage with Gentiles—were invaluable aids to the creation of a strong sense of a nationality based in religion, marking the Jews out thus from other peoples. In the life and death struggle with Hellenic culture, philosophy and armed force three centuries later, it was a fervent nationalism finding expression in precisely these customs that preserved the Jews, no less than the superiority of their ethical-religious beliefs. Indeed up to the present time these rites have played an incalculably important part in the maintenance of Jewish race-distinction.

Jerusalem dominated the lives of Palestinian Jews, and held also the imagination of the Jews of distant lands, drawing them in multitudes to visit it on the great pilgrimages, making the payment of the poll-tax for the Temple (a source of indispensable strength for the often impoverished city) no burden but a joy.

The master-thoughts established in the minds of the exiles were these: There is one God only, Whose will is moral righteousness—Ruler of Nature, Whose power is therefore irresistible; Ruler of Mankind, therefore the events of history reflect His judgement on human sin. All His ordinances are to be obeyed, yet the essence of His service is the ethical law in the heart. Finally, God has called Israel to a peculiar service in a Divine world-purpose for good—which does not imply a relaxation of Divine justice in Israel's favor, but does imply an immutable hope for the nation, as assurance of a blessed destiny that must at last find glorious fulfilment.

On the eve of the Persian conquest of Babylon (c. 540 B.C.), these convictions received expression, surpassing even Ezekiel's, in the words of the nameless prophet cited above, whose utterances became part of the Book of Isaiah. Convinced that Israel's sin is expiated, this Prophet comforts his people with a message of the majesty of Jehovah, the only God; sees in Cyrus the agent of the restoration of Zion, and calls on the exiles to be ready for return.

Given this moral interpretation of the disaster and these hopes for the renewal of Zion, the intellect of the exiles was liberated, and directed into new and unimpeded channels. Eagerly men began to study the records of the past to find wisdom for the present and guidance for the future. The Prophets, scorned in their lifetime, must be revered now; the Laws, great and small, that had been unheeded must be sought out, systematized and obeyed. And the growing prosperity and leisure of life in Babylonia, its freedom from military anxieties, provided the opportunity for study.

Moreover the Jewish instinct for worship, cut off from the Temple festivals, discovered an invaluable medium of expression in popular gatherings, especially on the Sabbath, for religious reading, prayer, instruction and discussion, and the singing of psalms. The initiation of this 'synagogue' type of worship, ordinary as it appears nowadays, was an infinitely important matter.

The conquest of Babylonia by the Persians in 539 B.C. made possible the return of the exiles and so disclosed to many the gulf between theory and practice. It was one thing to approve the dreams and schemes of the Prophets, and quite another to break up the prosperity of Babylonian homes and businesses. From the contemporary evidence of the Books of Haggai and Zechariah it seems that not 50,000 as the Chronicler supposed, but at most a handful of zealous exiles returned to Jerusalem between 537 and 520 B.C. In 520 B.C., however, there was a fairly coherent population, with a civil governor of Davidic lineage, Zerubbabel (perhaps a returned exile), and a high priest,

Joshua. But no miraculous highway in the desert had appeared and the walls were useless for defence; and if any effort to repair them had been made, it had failed.

At this juncture two Prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, roused the people to essay the rebuilding of the Temple, urging them to cease sighing for miracles and the vanished glories of Solomon's cedars of Lebanon, and Haggai exhorted them to build—a brave message—with such local wood as they could get; whilst Zechariah rebuked the pessimism of those who 'despised the day of small things.' By 516 B.C. the Temple was rebuilt, and though with the walls unrestored the fate of the city hung ever in the balance, the feat put new heart into the Jews. Jerusalem might once more become the religious focus of the Jewish race. Messianic longing was rife, and it even seems that Zerubbabel himself was expected to be revealed in power as the Messianic King.

Unfortunately, after 520 B.C., there is a complete blank in the history for some sixty years, and we know nothing of Zerubbabel's fate. But undoubtedly no kingdom was established, and the days of the Messiah were not yet. When about 450 B.C. information is again available, it is clear that the high hopes of Zechariah's generation had been shattered, and the fortunes of the city had reached a miserably low ebb.

The next stage is the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah (c. 450-400 B.C.). In 445 B.C. Nehemiah, an influential Jew at the Court of Artaxerxes I in Susa, was so moved by a report of Jerusalem's pitiable condition that he sought and obtained the Persian king's authority to visit it in person and essay the repair of the walls.

'THE NOBLE SANCTUARY' UPON THE SITE OF KING SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

Christian architects working for the first Moslem khalifs in the seventh century erected the Haram el-Sherif, 'the noble Sanctuary,' on the Hill of Zion. In its center is the Dome of the Rock so named from an outcrop of stone beneath it, identified as the threshing floor of Araunah upon which David raised an altar and King Solomon later placed the permanent altar of his temple. The wall-girt platform contains all that remains to-day of the majestic succession of temples at Jerusalem.

Photo, E.N.A.

Certain graphic memoirs written by Nehemiah himself have fortunately been embedded in the Chronicler's confused narrative of this period, and yield one of those vivid, personal stories with which antiquity is occasionally illuminated. We read of his arrival and secret inspection of the ruinous walls by night; of his summons to the Jews for swift action and their response enheartened by his strong personality and royal authority; of the repulse of Samaritan opposition at first by the diplomatic weapon of the permit, then by armed resistance, and finally and not least by Nehemiah's wise countering of plots for his undoing which were made both by the enemy without and by their partisans within Jerusalem. In fifty-two days, by September 444 B.C., the walls were so repaired that Jerusalem was again a fortress.

Thereafter Nehemiah showed himself a statesman, taking steps to augment the number of its inhabitants, improve its internal administration and induce kindlier relations between the rich and poor. But the lax Jews and the Samaritan partisans were strong and on his return to Persia his reforms were undone. In 432 B.C. he returned and this time took more drastic action, particularly with regard to certain abuses arising from the intermarriage of Jews and aliens and the non-observance of the Sabbath laws.

With the establishment of a strict Judaism at Jerusalem a change began to appear in the attitude of Jewish settlements abroad. By Nehemiah's time there were doubtless many Jews in foreign lands (besides those in Babylonia); but hitherto their practice of the ancestral worship of Jehovah either lapsed or was perilously lax (see the Elephantine evidence, page 1046). Hereafter the augmentation of Jewish settlers from Palestine in the cities of the surrounding countries—which became very rapid in the Greek age—tended naturally to consist of Jews who at least knew well the duties of strict Judaism. The Jews of the Dispersion therefore begin to be truly Jewish.

The last hundred years of the Persian Empire (430-330 B.C.) seem to have been relatively 'eventless' for Jerusalem.

These relatively quiet years were invaluable for the consolidation of Judaism.

Moreover the Jewish mind was active in other directions than the Law and Temple-worship. A 'practical' philosophy of conduct, expressing itself in sententious and often memorable proverbs, was being formulated; and that it served a useful educational purpose in the hands of its exponents (the 'Wise') is evident from the Book of Proverbs. Continuing as a very 'live' movement on into the Greek period, it culminates in a fascinating book, Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Ben Sirach, c. 200 B.C.—a mirror of the social life of the times and of the ideals of a sensible, godly Jewish citizen, who would fain restrain youth from the follies of the age, and believed that the old-fashioned morality, rooted in reverence for Jehovah, was the guiding principle of a happy and successful life. But life has its tragic agonies and ironies; and the Prophets, wrestling with the fate of the nation, had been scarcely concerned with the mystery of the life of the individual. Hence in this age (in Ecclesiastes, Job and certain of the finest Psalms) we see an effort to grapple with the sharp problems of pain, death and unmerited suffering, with their seeming denial of Divine justice, in the individual human life.

Further reference must be made to the Psalter. Psalmody there must have been in connexion with the pre-exilic Temple. But the Psalter, as it now stands, is essentially a monument of post-exilic Judaism. And what an achievement! Every aspect of Jewish feeling is present here. It lays bare the soul of the nation, collectively and individually—intellect, heart and conscience; all its spiritual need and immortal aspiration. Post-exilic Judaism must be measured by nothing less than this its superb religious creation.

The vitality of Judaism was about to be tested in an extraordinary fashion, through contact, at first peaceable, then violent, with a civilization no less forcible than itself and in many respects more brilliant. When in 332 B.C. Alexander of Macedon at the head of a Greek army conquered the Persian Empire and became master of the known world, his campaign had far more than military effect.

Jerusalem lay aside from the main current of Hellenic influence, yet there also within a century of Alexander's death Hellenism had become desperately tempting. 'Tempting' materially—for imagine the coming and going of Greek traders in

the bazaars of Jerusalem, and the opportunities afforded to every acute and enterprising Jew in the great Hellenic mercantile centers now spread around him, with (most of all) Alexandria only a few days' journey to the south. 'Tempting' socially—for Hellenism was becoming the atmosphere men breathed, and ere long it spread its social and even its athletic allurements very visibly before the eyes of the young and ambitious in Jerusalem. And intellectually, most of all, how brilliant Hellenism was!

Had the impact of Hellenism continued to be thus by 'peaceful penetration,' Judaism would perhaps have disintegrated. Yet within fifty years from 200 B.C. the situation was astonishingly transformed. Two things saved Judaism. First, the pro-Hellenic party in Jerusalem overstepped the bounds of common decency. And then, secondly, it happened that a brilliant but fanatical Hellenist, Antiochus Epiphanes, became king of Syria. Incensed for various reasons against the anti-Hellenic element among the Jews, he resolved to stamp out by violence the opposition of the orthodox; and after an unforgettable defilement of the Jerusalem Temple, instituted in 168 B.C. the first great religious persecution in history. Circumcision and observance of the Sabbath were declared illegal. Copies of the Law were hunted out for destruction, and their owners put to death.

Numbers of Jews suffered martyrdom; but later, this passive attitude of the Party of the Law (the Hasidim, 'The faithful') was abandoned and they rallied to the call for active opposition, which in heroic circumstances was made by an aged priest, Mattathias of Modin, and his five sons, of whom Judas, surnamed 'Maccabaeus,' proved a brilliant leader. A series of almost unhoped-for victories was won against Syrian generals, and in 165 B.C., Judas was in possession of the city of Jerusalem, the Temple was cleansed and in December re-dedicated to Jehovah amidst great rejoicing. The following year the Jewish fortunes were chequered, but (admitting political defeat) they were accorded religious freedom. Plainly, however, this situation was precarious. Fighting broke out again, and despite a great victory at Adasa in 161 B.C., the Jews had to appeal to Rome for support.

Rome sympathized, but meantime Judas was defeated and killed, and the Hellenists without and within the nation were uppermost again. The 'ungodly' triumphed and took revenge, and the advocates of the Law were in desperate straits. The Maccabaean brothers continued the struggle, and after vicissitudes of fortune Jonathan, in 153 B.C., aided by division in the Syrian Kingdom, was at last in control of Jerusalem and formally recognized as high priest. Slain by treachery, he was succeeded in 142 B.C. by Simon, last of the five brothers, who still further strengthened the Jewish military position, compelled the Syrian king, Demetrius II, to acknowledge the political freedom of the Jews, and was triumphantly proclaimed at Jerusalem as high priest and general and civil ruler 'for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet.' The era of independence had begun under the rule of the Maccabaean, or, as they are more often termed, the Hasmonaean priest-kings.

Judaism had created a Jewish state, but an unhappy one with small prospect of stability. Jerusalem was still but an island in an ocean of Hellenism, and the temptation to regard the strict observance of the law as obscurantism, and to 'Hellenize' to some extent, was as subtle and as powerful as ever. Unhappily under the Hasmonaean priest-kings party strife deepened, flaming at times into horrible persecutions and bloodshed, and is henceforth the deadliest factor in the tragedy of Jewish politics.

On one side was the 'Puritan' element, descendants of the Hasidim, the students of the Law, the Scribes—all in fact who were really zealous for the Law, the truly religious, the fervent nationalists. This party became known about this period as the 'Pharisees.' Over against these were ranged the 'Sadducees.' The Sadduces, at least the priestly families, were not antagonistic to a conventional observance of the Law. Naturally they stood for the upkeep of the Temple, with its ritual and priestly revenues; but they did not intend to be 'righteous overmuch.'

A summary of events down to A.D. 70 must now be given. In 135 B.C. Simon was murdered, but his son, John Hyrcanus I, reasserted the Hasmonaean control and widely extended Jewish rule, conquering Samaria and also Edom or Idumaea, whose inhabitants he compelled to profess

LAST AND FINEST OF THE SUCCESSIVE TEMPLES AT JERUSALEM

In the year 20 B.C., Herod set about the building of a new temple to replace Zerubbabel's Temple, which had been seriously damaged in the fighting seventeen years before. All secular buildings were cleared from the hill and on the enlarged area a temple arose of unprecedented splendor. In general plan it was similar to its predecessor, with the same distinctions between the various courts, but its Sanctuary was loftier. In A.D. 70 the temple was utterly destroyed.

After a model by Dr. Schick; photo, American Colony at Jerusalem

Judaism—an act of persecution for which later the Jews suffered a nemesis in the domination of Jerusalem by the Idumaean Herod. Hyrcanus' successor, Aristobulus I (105-104 B.C.), known as Philhellen, formally called himself king, and behaved like an evil Oriental despot.

In the next reign, that of Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.), Jewish freedom was almost lost in war with Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and there was civil war besides. The Pharisees, disgusted by seeing a man like Jannaeus acting as high priest, and aided by popular sympathy, which a massacre perpetrated by Jannaeus had roused, revolted against the king and the Sadducees. Jannaeus triumphed, crucified (it is said) eight hundred Pharisees, and held a dissolute banquet in sight of their dying agonies. Jannaeus' widow, Alexandra Salome, favored the Pharisees, who then took their vengeance.

With her death the climax was at hand. Of her two sons the elder, Hyrcanus II, the titular king and high priest, was a weakling, while the younger, Aristobulus, had ambition and force of character. Behind Hyrcanus stood a subtle personality, his adviser, the Idumaean Antipater; and behind the whole scene was looming up the mighty power of Rome, now closely concerned in the affairs of Egypt and the Near East. After much strife both brothers appealed to the Romans for support, and 63 B.C. saw a Roman army under Pompey besieging a Jerusalem again internally divided. The city was betrayed, the Temple was bloodily stormed and Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, probably without realizing how unforgettably he was thereby outraging Jewish sentiment. He suffered Hyrcanus to remain as high priest but not king, and left a Roman garrison in Jerusalem. Independence was lost; the rule of Rome had begun; and the troubles of Judah were not ended.

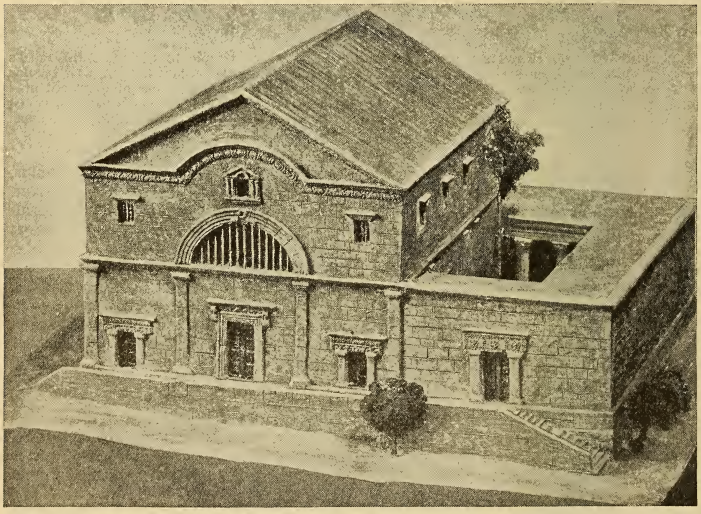
The last half of the first century B.C. was crowded with the vast events which marked the transition of Rome from a

Republic to an Empire. Biding his time behind Hyrcanus, the Idumaean Antipater sought to ingratiate himself with the Romans, and eventually was so useful to Julius Caesar in his campaign of 47 B.C. against Ptolemy of Egypt that he won for himself the procuratorship of all Palestine, and for the Jews many privileges. Notwithstanding the privileges, the Jews hated him. His assassination in 43 B.C., however, only delivered them after terrible strife, culminating in yet another siege and capture of Jerusalem, into the power of his second son, Herod, an even greater and more sinister personality than his father. So much was Herod 'persona grata' with Rome that he was allowed the title of king.

Favored by Rome, he ruled with outward splendor for thirty years, and rebuilt the Temple on a magnificent scale. But the Jews saw in him no true King of Israel, but only an Edomite usurper on the throne of David. The Jews rejoiced at the mental and physical torment that attended his sickness and death in 4 B.C.

Ten years later Rome instituted direct control, making Judah a province under a minor procurator. We have reached the years which hold the story of Jesus of Nazareth, but that life and death, with its inexhaustible consequences for humanity, does not fall to be considered here. Pontius Pilate is remembered where all other procurators of Judaea are forgotten; but merciless and provocative as he was, from the Jewish point of view he was by no means the worst of the series.

Rome in her imperial grandeur meant well by the Jews, but she could not comprehend that the peculiarity and intensity of the Jewish faith and patriotism made the little land a first-rate colonial problem; and her error in appointing as procurators men of second-rate ability and tenth-rate character made her government of Judaea



THE SYNAGOGUE: FOCUS OF THE NATIONAL LIFE OF JEWRY

Ancient synagogues generally lay north and south, had three doors to the south, and were sometimes divided by columns into a nave and two aisles. This restoration of the synagogue at Capernaum, built about A.D. 200 as an ampler reconstruction of an older synagogue, shows the general type. Outside to the east was a colonnaded courtyard—probably used for ablutions before worship.

From Kohl and Watzinger, 'Antike Synagogen in Galilaea'; J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig

RUINS OF SYNAGOGUE AT KEFR BIRIN

Synagogue worship had its beginning in the great exile, among the Jewish settlers in Babylonia. Probably it was not until the period of Nehemiah in the fifth century that it took firm root in Palestine, but thereafter it quickly attained supreme importance as the focus of national life. Remains of very ancient buildings of this class exist in several parts of Galilee; for example, this ruined synagogue at Kefr Birin on the Sea of Galilee, fabled to be the burial place of Queen Esther.

Photo, F. M. Good

the greatest blot on her administrative record. These miserable years are a nightmare of cruel injustice ferociously resented. The later procurators were impossible.

Suddenly Jerusalem flamed in tumult, the Roman garrison was massacred, and the revolt became general. The last scene was set. Rome had to put forth her strength.

Vespasian with an army of 60,000 opened the campaign in A.D. 67. In A.D. 69 Vespasian—made emperor by the Syrian legions in this year—left his son Titus at the gates of Jerusalem to complete the siege of the city. Despite the internecine and crazy fury of no less than three factions within its walls, desperate resistance was offered; but at last the defences were pierced, and the agonies of famine, pestilence and violence terminated in the capture of the Temple area on August 9, A.D. 70. The end of the Jewish state had come. One last effort to restore it was made in A.D. 135—the revolt of Bar Kokhba, a supposed Messiah—but it was defeated with awful slaughter. What other nation could have survived such protracted agonies and such ultimate overwhelming disaster? Yet the strength of Judaism was actually unimpaired; indeed, it only revealed itself clearly when Jerusalem was no more.

National traditions, family ties and business interests doubtless helped, but essentially they owed their marvelous preservation of race-consciousness to the unifying power of their religion, interpreted by the Scribes and Pharisees. The Pharisees are known to most people solely through their appearances in the Gospels and are apt to be judged accordingly. But just as the Christian ministry must not be estimated by the fact that in decadent periods of the Church's history many of the clergy were guilty of

formality or worse, so it must be grasped that Pharisaism was a great movement with a long history, having spiritual possibilities as well as perils.

One important point must be stressed. The Sadducees saw nothing in the Law beyond its plain meaning; that and that only was to be considered. But the attitude of the Pharisees towards the Law was fundamentally different, and by them Jewish thought was saved from stagnation and extinction.

The peril of dissolution was greatest, of course, in Palestine. Yet even there the way of deliverance was found. To some extent men took comfort in Apocalyptic writings, with their predictions of a miraculous consummation of all things, a Divine vindication of the righteous in Israel, a Reign of God about to be revealed in His own time.

The Apocalypses in certain circles only served to stimulate wild political revolt against Rome: there were those who sought to take the Kingdom of God by force. But deeper minds and gentler spirits felt that for this the help of man was vain, and read these writings as teaching rather that man should both hope and wait patiently for the revelation of God's goodness in the fullness of time. For such minds the fall of Jerusalem would but confirm their trust in God, and not in Man.

In Palestine, as elsewhere, indubitably it was not Apocalyptic visions but the sober teaching of the Pharisaic doctrine which proved the salvation of Judaism. With the hour came the man—Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai—who, at the fall of Jerusalem, with Roman permission, established at Jamnia (near the coast, south of Jaffa) what Judaism supremely needed, a school of the Law of outstanding eminence. Thanks to Johanan's noble character and great learning, Jamnia rapidly became an intellectual centre for the race, the only metropolis they really needed, a spiritual Jerusalem, void of political offence.

At the close of the first century A.D. the broad fact thus stands out that the Jews had not been merged, or submerged, in the general Hellenic culture, but were proudly conscious that they had become a unique people, homeless yet at home everywhere, scattered yet coherent. 'Amid the seeming cosmos and actual chaos of the Graeco-Roman Empire,' to quote the phrase of Wellhausen, 'the Jews stood out like a rock.'

The Judaism which thus so marvellously survived the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., whatever its ultimate function in the future belief of mankind, has shown itself a religion intense and definite, impinging most closely on the home life, as well as on the communal life of its people; a religion which has hitherto had sufficient vitality to grow and adapt itself to the needs of many generations and many lands.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XI

A.D.

98 Death of Nerva.
Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Trajanus) emperor, having been already associated with Nerva as Cæsar. Trajan completes military organization on the Rhine, and returns to Rome.
Revival of the policy of expansion.
101 Trajan's first campaign on the Danube.
102 Trajan forces the "Iron Gates" and penetrates Dacia.
103 Pliny pro-prætor in Pontus. Correspondence with Trajan about the attitude he is to adopt towards the Christians.
104 Conquest of Dacia and death of the Dacian king Decebalus.
106 Erection of the Forum and Column of Trajan in Rome.
Colonization of Dacia.
114 Trajan advances against Parthia.
115 Desolating earthquake at Antioch.
Trajan crosses the Tigris.
116 Trajan captures Ctesiphon; but insurrections on his rear compel him to retire.
117 Trajan dies at Selinus in Cilicia.
Hadrian (Marcus Ælius Hadrianus) emperor.
Hadrian reverts to the policy of non-expansion, and makes peace with Parthia.
118 Partial withdrawal from Dacia.
Hadrian returns to Rome, and makes preparation for his "peregrination" of the Empire. (The dates of the itinerary are uncertain.)
120 Hadrian in Britain. Construction of Hadrian's Wall from the Solway to the Tyne.
India: Probable date of the Kushan monarch Kanishka, 120-162.
121 Hadrian in Gaul. In the next ten years he visits in succession Spain, Africa, Syria, Asia (Minor), Greece, where he makes a long stay at Athens; returns to Rome; again visits Carthage, Athens and Antioch, and in the East confirms the Parthian Peace.
131 Hadrian at Alexandria.
133 Last organized revolt of the Jews, and their final dispersion.
134 Hadrian at Rome.
135 Hadrian nominates his worthless favorite Verus as his successor.
137 Verus dies, leaving a child, Lucius Verus.
138 Hadrian adopts a distinguished Senator, Titus Aurelius Antoninus (Pius), aged fifty-two. Antoninus adopts his own nephew, Marcus Annius Verus (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) and Lucius Verus.
Death of Hadrian.
Antoninus Pius emperor.
138-161 Reign of Antoninus Pius. An era of wholly uneventful tranquility and prosperity; but it encouraged barbarians on the borders to believe that the Empire was losing virility.
Ptolemy (astronomer and geographer) and Arrian the historian of Alexander the Great flor.
161 Death of Antoninus Pius.
Marcus Aurelius, emperor, makes Lucius Verus his colleague.
162 *India:* Huvishka succeeds Kanishka as Kushan king.
165 Parthian incursions.
165 Verus takes official command in the East, but the work is done by Avidius Cassius and other competent officers, Verus taking to himself the credit, and the title of Parthicus.
166 Unrest on the upper and middle Danube frontiers, where Quadi and Marcomanni are in movement.
Outbreak of plague. Religious revival, and severe persecution of Christians.
167 Marcus and Verus march against the Quadi, who seek and obtain peace.
168 Death of Verus; Marcus sole emperor.
169-179 Repeated campaigns of Marcus in Pannonia.
175 Revolt of Avidius Cassius, the successful commander of the Parthian war. He is put to death by his own followers.
177-180 Sarmatian war. Commodus the son and heir of Marcus is with the army.
180 Death of Marcus Aurelius.
Accession of Commodus.
Commodus makes an ignominious peace with the Sarmatians and returns to Rome.
180-183 Commodus leaves the government to his father's ministers and plunges into private dissipation.
182 *India:* Vasudeva, Kushan emperor (to 220).
183 Plot to kill Commodus discovered. Henceforth he acts as a panic-stricken tyrant. Power of the favorite Perennis.
186 Fall of Perennis. Power of Cleander.
189 Fall of Cleander.
192 Assassination of Commodus.
Pertinax made emperor by the Prætorians (first of the "prætorian emperors").
193 Pertinax murdered by the Prætorians, who offer the throne to the highest bidder, and force the Senate to accept the purchaser, Didius Julianus.
Pescennius Niger commanding in Syria, Clodius Albinus in Britain and Septimius Severus in Illyria declare against the usurper. While Pescennius is in arms in the East, Severus marches on Rome as the avenger of Pertinax, crushes Julianus, and is proclaimed emperor. Severus, emperor, disbands the Prætorians, but makes large concessions to his own troops.
194 Severus recognizes Albinus as Cæsar, but marches against Pescennius.
Defeat and death of Pescennius. His followers hold out two years at Byzantium.
197 Contest of Severus and Albinus, who is defeated and slain at the sanguinary battle of Lugdunum (Lyons).
198 Severus organizes a new Prætorian Guard under his own command, whose prefect is, in fact, the civilian First Minister. The administration is directed by the prefect Plautianus, an eminent legist.
201 Parthian campaign of Severus.
203 Fall and execution of Plautianus; who is succeeded as prefect by the lawyer Papinian. Development of the legal doctrine of Autocracy.
209 Severus in Britain. Costly campaigns in Caledonia. Building of the Wall of Severus.
210 Bassianus and Geta, sons of Severus, with the army in Britain.
211 Death of Severus. Joint succession of his sons Caracalla (Bassianus) and Geta. They return to Rome.

THE EMPIRE IN ITS GRANDEUR A.D. 98—211

THE majesty of the Roman Empire was at its zenith under the four rulers who followed Nerva, from A.D. 98 to 180: Trajan the embodiment of clear-eyed strength and justice; Hadrian the man of genius; Antoninus Pius the peace-lover; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who may dispute with Asoka the claim to represent the Platonic ideal of the philosopher sovereign. Of the four, only the first yielded to the temptation of conquest, though the last found himself compelled to engage, not over successfully, in heavy frontier warfare. All devoted themselves primarily to the development of the welfare of the Empire as a whole, and the era, commonly known as the "Age of the Antonines," is justly accounted the golden age of the Roman Empire.

TRAJAN—Marcus Ulpius Trajanus—A.D. 98-117, was chosen by Nerva as his successor because in the circumstances it was essential that Cæsar should command the confidence and the obedience of the army from the outset, and in Trajan he saw a man of sterling character and high ability who had spent half his life in military service and enjoyed the trust and confidence of all those who knew him.

Trajan made no haste to celebrate his accession. His work on the Rhine frontier had first to be completed, a work not of conquest but of strategic fortification. He was, besides, more at home in the camp than in the city. His letters to the Senate, however, were of good augury, promising that in his reign no senator should be put to death arbitrarily, and flatly declining for himself the devine honors proffered during his life.

When in due time he left his legions and came to Rome, the good impression was fully confirmed and he acheived immediate popularity by the frank simplicity and sincerity of his manners, and his fearless confidence in the loyalty of those who surrounded him: a confidence which, so far as his personal safety was concerned, he did not hesitate to carry to what seemed to be the extreme of rashness.

TRAJAN, ROMAN EMPEROR

Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, born at Ithica, near Seville, c. A.D. 52, succeeded Nerva in A.D. 98. His high character and military talents were matched by his administrative ability, and the Empire was admirably governed by him.

The Louvre; photo, Alinari

THOUGH he found the finances of the state in very bad order, he entirely declined to replenish the treasury and the privy purse either by heavy taxation or by the familiar expedients of arbitrary confiscations and fines. The need for economy was met by the curtailment of extravagances, not only in the imperial household but in public departments, the stopping of leakages, the development of a graded civil service in which advancement was the reward of efficiency and dishonesty did not pay. Economists might be alarmed when the emperor refused the "voluntary" contributions which it had been customary to accord, not from good will but from policy—a variant of the "benevolences" whose exaction became so serious a grievance at one period of English history. Interests might clamor over the supression of monopolies which brought money into the treasury; but the abolition of these things removed burdens that checked the development of trade and therefore of the sources of revenue, and the revenue itself increased instead of diminishing.

With increased revenue came an expenditure on public works, especially on means of communication, roads and ports, which again increased trade and revenue. The result of all of which was that in the long run no reign left more splendid and convincing monuments of public wealth and prosperity than that of Trajan, paid for without any undue pressure of taxation either in Italy or in the provinces.

Trajan, moreover, imbued the provincial government with his own spirit. He chose for governors men of the best type, who were almost too anxious to seek his sympathetic counsel, which he was

GLORIFICATION OF TRAJAN AS PUBLIC BENEFACTOR

Two of Trajan's popular benefactions to the state are commemorated in these reliefs on the balustrades in the forum that bears his name. In the upper relief he is depicted in the curule chair with Italia, a child in her arms, thanking him for the institution of the "alimenta," state charities expected to arrest the depopulation of Italy. On the other balustrade he is shown witnessing the fulfilment of his order for the burning of the records of arrears of taxes owing by the provincials.

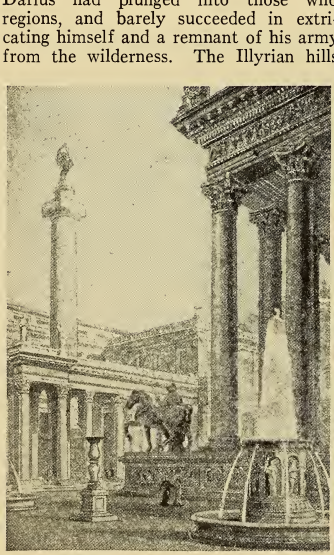
Photos, Anderson

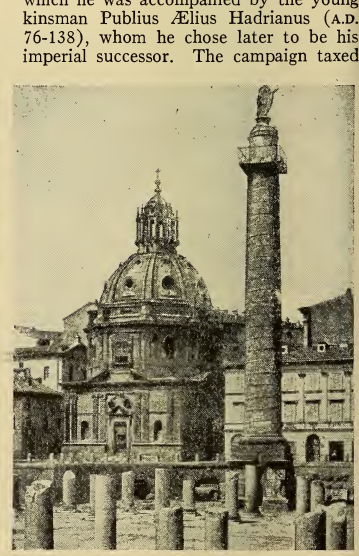
ready to give whenever it was asked, counsel always directed to the welfare of the governed.

Great as were the services rendered to the Empire by Trajan as an administrator, he probably set more store by his renown as a conqueror, since he was a soldier by instinct and a ruler by force of circumstance. Yet by common consent his military achievements were of no lasting advantage and were far from being an unqualified success. That is no reproach to his great qualities as a soldier, but it does mark the defect in his statesmanship, the adoption of an aggressive policy of expansion for the Empire.

The population of Dacia (which corresponded roughly to modern Hungary and Rumania) in Trajan's time was doubtless heterogeneous, probably mainly Slavonic. Six centuries earlier, the great Darius had plunged into those wild regions, and barely succeeded in extricating himself and a remnant of his army from the wilderness. The Illyrian hills and the Balkans were a permanent barrier which held back the Mediterranean peoples even from the Danube, till the Romans in the time of Augustus set about the reduction of Mœsia and Pannonia. But now within the last twenty years the Dacian chief Decebalus had been welding the trans-Danube tribes into some sort of unity, had crossed the Danube and raided Roman territory, and had so dealt with the punitive legions of Domitian that the Roman prestige in those quarters had fallen to a very low ebb.

From the moral point of view there was justification enough for bringing the Dacian monarch severely to book; his activities, encouraged by his experience of Domitian, were emphatically provocative. In 101, therefore, Trajan organized his first Dacian expedition, on which he was accompanied by the young kinsman Publius Ælius Hadrianus (A.D. 76-138), whom he chose later to be his imperial successor. The campaign taxed





TRAJAN'S COLUMN IN ITS ORIGINAL SETTING AND AS IT IS TO-DAY

The Column of Trajan was set up in the open space contained between the façade of the Basilica Ulpia and the wings of the library facing the Temple of Trajan. The column, including the base, is 127 feet high and is encircled by spiral reliefs forming a continuous narrative of the Dacian wars. The column still stands, amid fragments of the surrounding colonnades (right), but Trajan's statue on the summit was replaced in the sixteenth century by one of S. Peter.

heavily the strategic powers of Trajan and the discipline of his troops; the more because Decebalus was an astute prince who understood how to gain time by diplomacy, and also had a thorough knowledge, which the Roman had not, of the extremely difficult country in which the campaign must be fought. But when, after very hard fighting, Trajan had forced the pass still known as the Iron Gates, the ultimate victory of the Romans was assured. When his capital was captured, Decebalus made humble terms of submission (102); but Trajan's back was hardly turned before Decebalus was at work with his diplomacy, which resulted in his raising of a fresh confederacy.

So in 103 Trajan again took the field, bent this time not merely on asserting the power of the Empire but on crushing the Dacian once and for all time. The Danube was spanned by a mighty bridge, of which probable remnants may be traced to this day; at three different points the passes were forced; and the kingdom of Decebalus was destroyed in 104. Roman legionaries were planted as colonists in the depopulated region of Transylvania, and in 106 the conqueror returned to Rome, after completing the settlement, to raise in his forum the mighty monument known as Trajan's Column, and to abide in peace till in 113 affairs in the East once more awakened his military ambitions.

The Euphrates had long been the vaguely acknowledged boundary between the Roman and Parthian dominions, but both empires claimed the northern kingdom of Armenia as a dependency. The Arsacid dynasty was in decline, but had not abated its claims, and here Trajan found his excuse for what was in fact a project of conquering expansion; for the Parthian monarch Chosroes presumed to set a kinsman of his own on the throne of Armenia. So in 113 Trajan set his armies in motion and proceeded to the East to take over the command of his forces in person.

On the way he was met by ambassadors praying for peace. Chosroes had taken alarm, set up a new prince, Parthamasiris, in Armenia, and offered his protégé's homage. This was not enough. Trajan advanced, meeting no resistance, till

HADRIAN AMONG HIS PEOPLE

This relief is one of a pair that decorated an arch that spanned the Via Lata, south of the Ara Pacis. It shows Hadrian (head wrongly restored) making a proclamation to the Roman people, represented by males of varying ages.

Palazzo dei Conservatori; photo, Alinari

he reached the borders of Armenia. Then Parthamasiris humiliated himself and came in person to the emperor, but only to be told that Armenia was no longer a kingdom but a Roman province, and he had leave to depart. The circumstances in which he was slain almost immediately afterwards are obscure, but could not reflect credit on Trajan.

Armenia with Mesopotamia was secured, but Parthia was the emperor's real objective. Operations, however, were delayed till 116 owing to the need for creating some organization, and then to the havoc wrought by a terrific earthquake at Antioch, in which Trajan himself barely escaped with his life. Then came a great campaign over the Tigris, the passage of which in the face of an active foe was no easy task, and the advance to Susa, the last triumphant achievement.

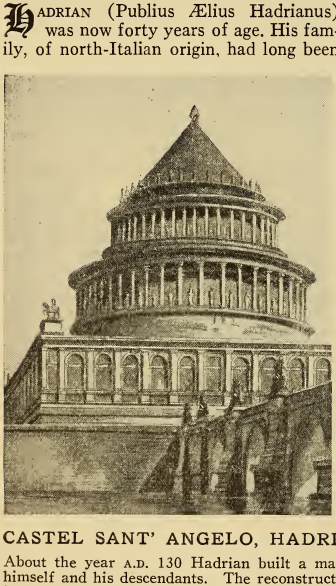
For in rear of the victorious armies revolt broke out in all the annexed ter-

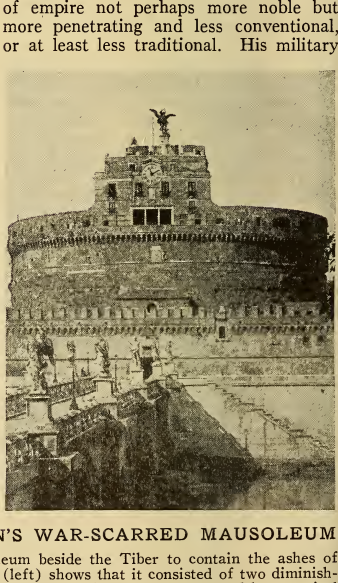
ritories. Trajan was obliged to retreat by the enemy behind him, not in front of him—and his own health, of which he was unsparing at sixty-four as at forty, had at last broken down. He was indeed only checked, not defeated; but he saw at least that his dream of emulating Alexander could never be accomplished, and even the widespread revolts were still unquelled when he turned his face homeward and died on the way in Cilicia (117).

Trajan had found, and named (though only on his deathbed), his fit successor, in Hadrian, the cousin, now commanding in Syria, whose capacities he had gauged in spite of the most marked contrasts between their characters. Scandal, wholly without foundation, whispered that the new emperor owed his selection to the favor in which he stood with Trajan's empress Plotina, who sent the dead man's instructions to the Senate.

HADRIAN (Publius Ælius Hadrianus) was now forty years of age. His family, of north-Italian origin, had long been settled, like that of Trajan, in Spain. His father had been a near cousin of Trajan, who had constituted himself the boy's guardian. He was brilliantly clever and amazingly versatile; and had accompanied the emperor on his campaigns, sometimes holding high command, in which he had acquitted himself with credit. He had just been placed in charge of Syria, and no one can have been surprized when at the last Trajan nominated him to the succession.

Hadrian was as complex as Trajan was simple, of a type more readily associated with the Greek than with the Roman, suggestive perhaps of a Celtic element in his ancestry. Endowed with an immensely wider intellectual range than Trajan, he was eager in the pursuit of beauty, still more eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and possessed all the imagination which Trajan lacked, while himself lacking the intensity of Trajan's moral conviction; yet he held ideals of empire not perhaps more noble but more penetrating and less conventional, or at least less traditional. His military



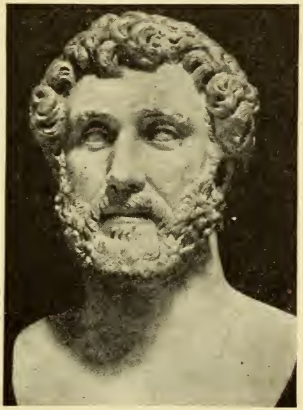


CASTEL SANT' ANGELO, HADRIAN'S WAR-SCARRED MAUSOLEUM

About the year A.D. 130 Hadrian built a mausoleum beside the Tiber to contain the ashes of himself and his descendants. The reconstruction (left) shows that it consisted of two diminishing circular structures surrounded by pillars, set on a square base and surmounted by a conical roof. In the seventh century the church of S. Angelus Inter Nubes was built upon its summit and later it became a papal fortress, the history of which would be an epitome of the history of medieval Rome.

talents were probably not small, and apparently he had shown marked courage in the field, but he was not, as Trajan was, a born soldier called to be a statesman, but a statesman who could on occasion prove himself an able soldier; and conquest for the sake of conquest had no attraction for him.

The statesman in Hadrian was swift to realize that for the Roman Empire conquest was not statesmanship. With a frontier which could hold any attack at bay, nothing was to be feared from barbarians only half organized at their best; nothing was to be gained by routing them in the field or occupying their territory. With the old boundaries the Empire was large enough to tax the organizing abilities of any government to the utmost. Hadrian discarded all design of expansion, and deliberately abandoned the recent conquests beyond the Euphrates. Chosroes of Parthia, in whose place Trajan had set up a puppet of his own, was again returned to power.



ANTONINUS PIUS

Titus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 86-165) was adopted by Hadrian, whom he succeeded in A.D. 138 with the official style of Antoninus Pius. Equity and justice flourished under his sway.

Vatican; photo, Alinari

In 118 Hadrian returned to Rome. His reversal of Trajan's policy was of course resented by the advocates of aggressive imperialism, and posterity accused him of abandoning Dacia as well as Trans-Euphrates; but this seems to be sufficiently disproved by the permanence of the Latin or Roman element in Transylvania. The broad fact stands that he preferred a consolidated frontier to indefinite expansion.

Hadrian reigned for twenty-one years (117-138) and a very large proportion of that time was occupied in peregrinations of the Empire, every part of which he visited in person at one time or other, becoming throughly acquainted with the prevailing conditions and local diversities, and making his hand felt in organization and government. In Britain, "Hadrian's Wall" from Solway to Tyne confirmed the permanent effective military frontier of the Roman province, while the northern line of forts served as a screen to hold the Picts of the Caledonian Highlands in check, the main wall being practically arranged to form one extended fortress.

SPAIN, Africa, Syria, Egypt, were all visited in turn, and no little time was spent by Hadrian in Greece and especially at Athens, the academic home of his spiritual affinities. The histories have no events of consequence to record; but evidently the Roman world was immensely impressed by an amazing activity which it did not understand, but which conveyed at every turn unexpected originality as well as a versatility rare indeed among Romans; in fact, Romans of the old tradition probably found their emperor rather alarmingly clever and unconventional. But as concerned the business of government, his cleverness was convincingly practical. Probably it was Hadrian himself who incited the eminent jurist Salvius Julianus to make that codification of legal decisions, known as Hadrian's Perpetual Edict, which practically amounted to a much needed code of Equity. We cannot but regret that we have not a more complete knowledge of a character whose history reflects a genius so brilliant and yet so complex.

Only in the last years of his strenuous and exhausting life—he was sixty-two when he died—did his powers and his self-mastery show signs of failing; he began to display an unhappy vindictiveness, and his first choice of a successor

was Ælius Verus, a youth who had no particular qualifications other than a handsome person. Happily he soon died, and Hadrian adopted in his place a senator of mature years and distinguished character, Titus Aurelius Antoninus, of whose virtues the Senate expressed its appreciation by giving him the title Pius. By some curious caprice, Hadrian also required Antoninus to adopt a youth of the highest promise, Marcus Annius Verus (121-180), whom the world remembers as Marcus Aurelius, and at the same time Lucius, the very young son of Ælius Verus.

MARCUS AURELIUS IMPERATOR

This bold and spirited piece of sculpture is one of the very few ancient equestrian statues in bronze still extant, its preservation being largely due to a mistaken idea in the Middle Ages that it was a statue of Constantine. Traces of gold on the horse's head show that originally it was gilt.

Capitol, Rome

The twenty-three years of the reign of Antoninus (138-161) are almost recordless. On barbarian frontiers occasional military movements of minor degree were inevitable, but even there Antoninus preferred conciliation to coercion. If a nation is happiest when it has least history, and has least history when it is happiest, the Roman world was assuredly never happier than in the days of Antoninus Pius, who in 161 ended a blameless life and an imperatorship of twenty-three years with an honored death.

More troubled was the reign of his successor Marcus Aurelius, a born student, called unwillingly by his overpowering sense of duty to be a man of action. If fate had been kinder to him, his reign would have been a repetition of that of Antoninus. Obeying the call not of inclination but of duty, he had been constant in the practice of public functions whilst his heart was in the pursuit of abstract truth; he had in full measure the moral qualities demanded in an ideal ruler; but the special problems he had to face needed perhaps a keener insight than his, and his difficulties were increased by one defect—his blindness to the deficiencies in those whom he loved and unwisely trusted. To say that he was a failure would be a gross injustice; but he made mistakes which had most unhappy consequences.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180) on his accession—a highly popular event, for he was already justly credited with all the virtues of Antoninus—of his own choice

shared the imperial authority with his younger adoptive brother, Lucius Verus, whose principal merit was his ready deference to and respect for Marcus. The troops had known the vigor of Hadrian but had never felt the hand of the mild Antoninus, and the legions in distant Britain were eager to raise their own chief, Statius Priscus to the purple, but he was too stoutly loyal to be tempted. The mutiny collapsed; but it was not without ill omen for the future, and even at the moment was a symptom of general uneasiness on the frontiers. The peace of Antoninus had been purchased at some cost to the discipline of the armies, and to the fear those armies had been wont to inspire beyond the frontiers.

THE fact was already being exemplified in the East. Parthia once more asserted her claim to Armenia; Parthian forces poured over the border and threatened Syria, a region always destructive to the discipline of the troops quartered there unless under officers of the school of Vespasian and Trajan. Now Roman prestige in the East was so threatened as to call for the emperor's presence.

Marcus had no craving for the laurels of the conqueror. Officially the supreme command for the Parthian war was taken by Verus, who remained for the most part ingloriously at Antioch, the most cosmopolitan, the most luxurious, and the most depraved of the cities of the Empire. The work of organizing and campaigning

VICTORIOUS ROMAN SOLDIERS CARRYING OFF PRISONERS AND BOOTY

In A.D. 174 the Senate and Roman Peopl: erected a column to Marcus Aurelius which still stands in the Piazzi Colonna. It is a repetition in Carrara marble of Trajan's column, 100 feet in height and surrounded by a continuous spiral band of reliefs representing the events of the Marcomannic Wars. The reliefs are wonderfully animated and have contributed greatly to modern knowledge of the conduct of military operations under the Empire.

Photo, Anderson

WHOLESALE DECAPITATION OF CONQUERED GERMAN CHIEFTAINS

As compared with the work of Trajanic sculptors the reliefs on the column of Marcus Aurelius are more sympathetic in their interpretation of the tragedy of war. This is due to the disposition of the philosopher emperor, who acquiesced in the brutalities of conquest only from a sense of duty. The representation of a German acting as executioner of his own defeated kinsmen recalls the fact that in the Marcomannic Wars Marcus employed an unprecedented number of German auxiliaries.

Photo, Anderson

was carried out by the subordinates who had been chosen for their efficiency, Priscus, who was summoned from Britain, and Cassius Avidus, sternest of disciplinarians and an able soldier to boot. But some five years of hard campaigning were needed before Parthia would submit to the terms by which she surrendered her title in Mesopotamia and Armenia.

But the Parthian war (161-165) was only a prelude. On the upper Danube the German Quadi and Marcomanni were threatening, and the return of Verus with the troops from the East was attended by a tremendous outbreak of the plague in Italy which delayed the necessary operations. Marcus, disciple of Epictetus and the Stoics as he was, was not free from the conviction that the thing was a visitation, a punishment sent by the gods for some flaw of sacrilege in the state; and to this superstition may well be attributed the severe persecution of the Christians, who had enjoyed almost complete immunity under Hadrian and Antoninus, which he set on foot; for Stoicism was punctilious in its regard for religious observances.

In 167 Marcus took the field in company with Verus. The demonstration, however, sufficed to bring the Quadi to terms without fighting. In 168 the

emperors were able to return in peace; but Marcus was relieved of one embarrassment by the death of his colleague, and henceforth he reigned alone.

The pacification, however, was illusory. The trans-Danubian peoples were in ferment, not on the upper Danube only. Year after year was occupied with conscientious campaigning which the emperor would not shirk, however uncongenial he found it, since it fell within the range of his responsibilities as he conceived them; though he was under no illusion as to his own very mediocre abilities as a general, and trusted more in the military judgment of his officers than in his own. Once—it is piously recorded on his Column at Rome—he and his troops, cut off in the passes from their supplies, were only preserved by a timely deluge of rain from perishing of thirst. Disaster, indeed, was escaped, and when the enemy could be brought to an engagement they were defeated; but the mobility of the barbarians made all such campaigning harassing, hazardous and inconclusive.

Marcus was on his way to the East in 175 to suppress a revolt headed by Cassius Avidius, when news came that the rising was over; the rebel had been slain by his own soldiers. With a rare magnanimity the emperor forbade all punishment of his family or his adherents, and destroyed unread all incriminating documents. Before returning to Rome he passed through his eastern dominion; and when he did return it was no long time before he was again called to the Danube frontier. On this occasion his arms proved more unequivocally successful; but the campaign was not yet finished when he was struck down by sickness, and died, worn out by his labors, in the sixtieth year of his age (A.D. 180).

All men united in praising the emperor, whose one aim had always been the welfare of his people, and who had constantly sacrificed all his own natural inclinations and predilections to toil unremittingly at the task which had been laid upon him.

But Marcus did not deal successfully with the growing problem of frontier defense, since he was naturally incapable of the vigorous measures necessary. That is the sum of the failure of the philosopher sovereign, save that he also failed in that he nominated his son Commodus as his successor, and that he misread Christianity.

COMMODUS (180-192) had been born in the year of his father's accession. Now, at twenty, he was an ill-conditioned youth whose education had been excellent in theory and ineffective in practice. He was accepted with anxiety, no doubt, but without opposition. He had been on the last campaign and was left in active command; but fighting under difficulties was not to his taste, and instead of carrying the war through he promptly made an ignominious peace—which confirmed the conviction of the hostile tribes that the day of Roman supremacy was past—and returned to give himself up to private dissipations while he left the uncongenial business of the administration in the hands of his tutors.

The young emperor had neither force nor elevation of character nor intelligence. Plots were formed against him; they were discovered and suppressed; but he took alarm, and panic transformed him from a fainéant debauchee into a tyrant who alternated between raising worthless favorites to power and surrendering them to the enemies they excited.

For such a reign, the inevitable end was assassination at the hands of alarmed members of the tyrant's own disreputable household. In 192 Commodus was duly murdered, with the connivance of the prefect of the prætorians, Lætus, who was ready with an eminently respectable candidate for the purple, a senator named Pertinax; whose nomination, thus supported, was accepted by the Senate.

PERTINAX opens the series of Cæsars known as the Prætorian Emperors, who were raised to the purple by the prætorians or by the legions under their own command in the provinces, most of whom ruled only till ejected and killed by another soldier who seized the succession; men of every variety of nationality and birth—Moor, Illyrian, Gaul, Syrian, Arabian, even Roman. Now and then an emperor was strong enough or his adherents were strong enough to pass on the immediate succession to a son. But at the death of Commodus we have only a foretaste of the chaos; because a strong man arose, Lucius Septimius Severus, who

held the reins in his masterful grip from 193 to 211.

Pertinax, an old soldier, was made emperor by favor of the prætorians and their prefect. He lost that favor because, in a conscientious effort to rectify the misdeeds of Commodus and the evils which had sprung up during his rule, he tried to tighten discipline instead of relaxing it. Before Commodus had been three months dead, the prætorians mutinied, broke into the palace, murdered Pertinax, paraded his head through the streets on a pike, and offered the imperial throne to the highest bidder. The precarious prize fell to a wealthy senator, Didius Julianus.

At Rome the Guards could dictate at ease to the civilians, but the provincial armies had a preference for a chief of their own selection. The legions in Britain and on the Rhine chose Clodius Albinus, the army in Syria proclaimed Pescennius Niger, the troops on the Danube hailed Septimius Severus.

SEVERUS AND HIS CONSORT JULIA DOMNA

Septimius Severus was still in private station when he married Julia Domna, daughter of Bassianus of Emesa. A beautiful and able woman, she had great influence over her husband, by whom she was the mother of Caracalla.

From Bernoulli, "Römische Ikonographie"

Rome was the necessary objective. Albinus was a sluggard, a glutton; Pescennius was popular in the East, but the army stationed in the East had the least experience of fighting, and its discipline habitually went to pieces unless it was under command of a martinet like Cassius Avidius. Severus was a hard soldier at the head of hardened troops, and he was nearest to Rome. Neither Albinus nor Pescennius was ready to strike; but Severus struck straight. He marched on Rome. Didius passed from empty fulminations to equally vain offers of compromise. Severus ignored both. As he drew near, the prætorians, inexperienced in war, realized the uses of discretion and deserted to the veteran leader of hard-bitten veterans, who was quite ready to save time and trouble by making promises which he had no intention of keeping. No resistance was offered, Didius Julianus was executed, and the Senate declared Severus emperor. The prætorians were disgraced, and the force was reorganized as a vast bodyguard, fifty thousand strong, under the emperor's direct control (193).

Pescennius was described as the best of the three candidates; but as soldier he was no match for Severus, who elected to deal with him next, crushed him and killed him in a campaign in Asia Minor (194), and then returned to the west to dispose of the pretensions of Albinus. But to beat the better trained and hardier troops of the north was a more difficult matter; and it was only after a heavy and furiously contested battle, the issue of which at one time turned out to be extremely doubtful, at Lugdunum (Lyons), that Severus in 197 could feel himself the undisputed master of the Roman world, though his reign dates from 193.

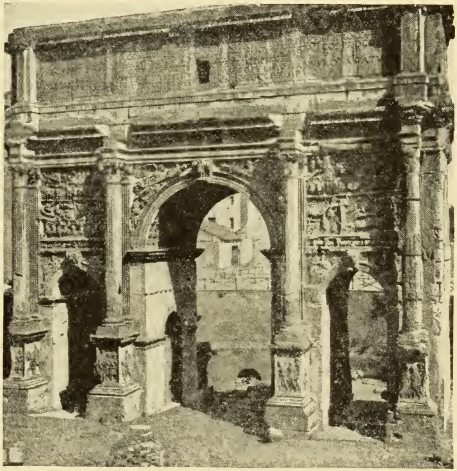
All the previous Cæsars or Augusti—the latter title was the higher, as it had always been reserved exclusively for the emperor himself, whereas the former was habitually bestowed on an emperor designate—had been of Roman or at least Italian descent, even when of families

long settled in far-away provinces. Severus was the first of many who had no pretence to Roman ancestry. He was an African who might properly be called a Moor, a race which has given birth to not a few very able soldiers. He did not regard his position as fully established till he had inspired a wholesome fear in the minds of the possibly disaffected by dooming several senators to death; since the rude soldier chosen by soldiers as a soldier was accepted with reluctance by a body which still looked upon itself as the supreme constitutional authority. Moreover, to the man of the camp the mildness of the Antonines would have seemed an encouragement to treason.

The one lesson was enough. No more armed legions and no assassins' daggers were turned against Severus, nor did he play the tyrant. The domestic administration he left to competent and trustworthy officials, spending his own time among the armies on one or another frontier. Frontier policy was his chief concern, and the policy he followed was that of Hadrian.

In the years immediately before his accession he had held command on the most dangerous of all the Roman marches, the banks of the Danube, and had learned that the Empire's need was defense, not aggression, but that the aggressively-minded barbarian must be kept in healthy awe of the Roman power. He was not far from being a barbarian himself. Grim, hard, and unscrupulous, with no touch of magnanimity, he was yet free from wanton cruelty or mere vindictiveness, and he ruled his empire as he ruled his troops. The method was effective so long as the man was there; it was the culmination of military autocracy; but it broke down when the man was gone, as it was bound to do unless he left in actual control an equally efficient successor.

Severus spent the last years of his life in Britain, where he completed the system of frontier fortification. The last password issued by the dying Antoninus fifty years before was "Equanimity"; the last password of Severus was "Work" (laboremus). Each was singularly expressive of the character of him who chose it, and of the quality of his rule. By unremitting hard work Severus restored and increased the security and prestige of the Empire, which were being sapped in the days of Commodus. But the desire to found a dynasty led him at the last to the very blunder into which Marcus Aurelius had been drawn away by a very different motive, and the succession passed (211) to his infamous son Bassianus, who was better known as Caracalla.



THE ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

The Arch of Severus was dedicated in A.D. 213 in memory of his victories in the Parthian campaign.

Vespasian, the Sabine soldier, had become emperor by very much the same process as Severus, the African soldier—as the successful captain among candidates whose rival claims could be decided only by the sword. But excepting the sons who followed him as a matter of course, the succeeding emperors previous

ROMAN EMPIRE
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Provinces written thus Asia
1 Germania Inferior
2 Germania Superior
3 Alpes Penninae
4 Alpes Cottiae
5 Alpes Maritimae
6 Lycia & Pamphylia
SARMATIA
GERMANIA
Antonine Wall
Hadrian's Wall
Hibernia
Britannia
Tamesis
Tenedum
Aquitania
Lugdunensis
Lutetia
Belgica
Agrippina
GALLIA
Lugdunum
Aquitania
Burdigala
Narbonensis
Narbo
Arelate
Helvetia
Noricum
Pannonia
Upper
Lower
Aquileia
Mediolanum
Ravenna
Ligeria
Dalmatia
Adriaticum Mare
ITALIA
Roma
Latium
Corsica
Sardinia
Tarraconensis
Durius
Iberia
Hispania
Tagus
Lusitania
Cordaba
Baetica
Gades
Carthago Nova
Caesarea
Tingitana
Caesariensis
MAURETANIA
Carthago
Hadrumetum
Numidia
Africa
Syrtis Minor
Leptis Magna
Syrtis Major
Cyrene
Cyrenaica
Sicilia
Syracusae
Melita
INTERNUM MARE
Upper
Dacia
Lower
Sarmizegetusa
Upper
Moesia
Lower
Odessus
Danubius
PONTUS EUXINUS
Thracia
Hadrianopolis
Philippi
Byzantium
Macedonia
Bithynia & Pontus
Galatia
Cappadocia
ARMENIA
Colchis
Iberia
Albania
Cyrus
CASPIUM MARE
Tiaris
PARTHIA
Assyria
Nisibis
Mesopotamia
Euphrates
BABYLONIA
Antioch
Syria
Cilicia
Pergamum
Asia
Ephesus
Rhodes
Cyprus
Sidon
Tyrus
Caesarea
Palaestina
Damascus
Alexandria
Arabia
Egypt
Memphis
Nilus
Crete
Achaia
Athenae
Corinthus
Thessalonica
Actium
Italia
Sicilia
Hispania
Gallia
Germania
Britannia
Hibernia
Africa
Numidia
Cyrenaica
Aegyptus
Arabia
Asia
Syria
Cilicia
Cappadocia
Galatia
Thracia
Macedonia
Dacia
Moesia
Pannonia
Noricum
Helvetia
Germania
Britannia
Hispania
Gallia
Italia
Sicilia
Sardinia
Corsica
Africa

to Pertinax had owed their elevation not to the army but to the Senate, nor had any of the line departed from the formal tradition that the Senate was the sovereign body which had delegated its powers to the princeps. Severus hardly pretended to maintain the fiction, and the very eminent lawyers of his reign, Papinian and Ulpian, made a fundamental legal doctrine of the emperor's personal sovereignty. The constitutional theory of the Empire had ceased to be tenable.

We saw Shih Hwang Ti building the Great Wall for the defense of the new Chinese empire against the incursions of the central Asian nomad hordes, the Hsiung-nu Mongols and the semi-Iranian Yueh-chih. The latter were then pushed westward to the Oxus and appear to have established themselves precariously among Sacæ and other Scythians in this region overrunning the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms in the second century B.C. From them or from their princes emerges, somewhere in the first century A.D., the Kushan dominion, monarchy, or empire, which begins with Kadphises I, provisionally dated circa A.D. 40. For the last two centuries India had had no recoverable history. Kadphises, pushing down from Bactria through the Hindu Kush, apparently made himself master of Afghanistan and the Punjab. We find his son, Kadphises II, extending his dominions and at war with China under the Eastern Hans. The great figure of the dynasty is Kanishka, whose date, on which all the other dates turn, is much disputed; but (probably in the second quarter of the second century A.D.) his sovereignty, Peshawar or Kabul as its center, was acknowledged over the northwest of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Chinese Turkistan. Remembering always that the dates are provisional and uncertain, it is presumed that the dynasty and the dominion came to an end somewhere about A.D. 220, when the Han dynasty ended in China and Parthia was passing from the outworn Arsacids to the vigorously aggressive sway of the Persian Sassanids. Of the rest of India we know little more than that powerful independent kingdoms had by this time grown up, notably the Kshaharata "satraps" in the West (Gujarat), and another being the Andhras in the farther south.

A ROMAN CITIZEN SURVEYS THE WORLD

WHAT MEN THOUGHT AND KNEW OF THE EMPIRE AND OTHER LANDS IN THE SECOND CENTURY A.D.

By HUGH LAST

Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University

In A. D. 14, when his long life came to an end amid the lamentations of a grateful world, the emperor Augustus was assured already of a place in history such as few Romans could claim and none more justly than he. For close on half a century his energies had been devoted to the creation and development of a new governmental system, and before his death this life-work had been crowned with success. He had found the Empire threatened with a galloping decline; he had left it so strong that three more centuries passed before drastic doctoring was called for again.

When his supporters gave credit to Augustus for leaving an empire which faced the world four-square, they were thinking of an achievement which could not be gainsaid. One of the foremost tasks in the Augustan programme was the establishment of an imperial frontier.

The center of civilization, which in the earliest ages of recorded history had been in western Asia, had moved to the Mediterranean basin during the second millennium B.C. and there it remained until the Reformation. The frontiers of this region in some directions are provided by nature. On the west is the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south and south-east the deserts of Africa and Arabia make military defence a matter of small importance. It is on the east and north that difficulties arise: but even in the north nature has traced a line. The Pyrenees and the Cevennes lead on to the main massif of the Alps, and thence the mountain line is continued along the eastern coast of the Adriatic to the Balkan block which extends almost to the Sea of Marmora.

For the Roman Empire, however, a simple acceptance of this line throughout its length was impossible. In Gaul the mountain screen was broken by the gap of Carcassonne—between Pyrenees and Cevennes—and by the Rhône valley, between Cevennes and Alps; and the part of Gaul which lay north of the natural barrier had been included in the Roman world by the great-uncle of Augustus, Julius Caesar. Again, the Balkan mountains penetrate deep into the Greek peninsula; and when Greece was made part of the Roman Empire a frontier had to be sought, not in the mountains themselves, but farther north. Thus the European frontier problem of Rome was to connect the North Sea with the Black Sea by a line which would include France and the Balkan block.

In the eastern section the Danube offered a line to which there was no obvious alternative, but to join the Danube to the North Sea was a problem of the greatest difficulty. If we place ourselves at a point on the Danube between Vienna and Budapest there are two directions in which we may seek a military frontier running to the North Sea. It is possible to ascend the Danube to a point near its source, where the Rhine flows less than twenty miles away, and then to follow the Rhine down to Rotterdam. Or, again, a line may be found running northwards into Bohemia by the valley of the March, and thence down the Elbe past Dresden, Magdeburg and Hamburg to Cuxhaven and the sea. Of these possible frontiers the former—the Rhine-Danube line—was attractive because it called for no advance into Germany beyond the Rhine, along which Roman arms had been planted already by Julius Caesar.

The alternative was the short straight line of the Danube and the Elbe—a frontier which had everything in its favor

ROMANISED CITY ON THE DANUBE WITH QUAYS AND AMPHITHEATRE

Whatever the problems to be solved on the Rhine, the Danube was an obvious natural frontier of the Roman Empire; and so it remained, for much of its length, even after Trajan had added the province of Dacia. This relief from his column shows a city on the river, or its tributary the Save, in which Trajan had wintered (101-102); soldiers are loading a transport and the emperor and his staff are about to set out on the second campaign of the First Dacian War.

From Cichorius, Die Traianssäule

except that its establishment would demand a war to conquer the country between Rhine and Elbe. At the Elbe Augustus aimed, and his advance in this direction is a matter of momentous interest. If Leipzig had been a city of the Roman world, and if Berlin had been within a day's journey from the line garrisoned by Rome, the cultural, and also political, history of Europe would not have been exactly what it is. The military operations, which opened in 12 B.C. under the direction of Nero Claudius Drusus, younger brother of the future emperor Tiberius, met with such signal success that for something like twenty years the greater part of western Germany lay under military occupation of Rome. All indications pointed to a permanent provincialization of the country west of the Elbe, when suddenly in the summer of A.D. 9, at a time when the resources of Augustus were still suffering from the strain of a great revolt which had broken out in Austria three years before, a section of the German race under their hero Arminius (Hermann) destroyed three Roman legions in an engagement near Osnabrück, and with them their ill-starred general, P. Quinctilius Varus.

Thus Germany was lost; and with men scarce and his exchequer low Augustus—by this time an old man rising seventy-two—made no effort to regain it. He fell back on the Rhine, accepted a frontier whose back was broken by the angle of the Black Forest, and bequeathed to his successors a problem which was finally solved by biting off the head of the salient and joining Rhine to Danube by the shorter artificial line of the German 'limes.' So it was that in Europe—the region where to us at least the work of Rome has its highest interest—the frontier left by Augustus followed the coast of the Atlantic, the English Channel and the North Sea from Gibraltar to Rotterdam; thence it ran up the valley of the Rhine, and so, round the Black Forest, down the Danube to the Black Sea.

On the southern shore of the Mediterranean the frontier problem was at its simplest. Along the whole stretch from the Atlantic coast to the borders of Egypt the desert, though its distance from the sea varies greatly, provides a continuous defence against invasion from without. The whole Roman territory on the southern shore of the Mediterranean from the Atlantic to the western frontier of Egypt claimed as its permanent garrison only a single Roman legion, together with auxiliary units numbering little more than half those of the auxiliaries normally stationed in so small a province as Britain.

Then to the east came Egypt, where a somewhat larger army lay. Since the country was of importance both for the trade routes which ran through it towards India and for its value as a granary to Rome, no risks could be taken with its teeming population—a population which was not disposed in favor of Rome by the peculiar administrative system here adopted by Augustus. But, even so, the garrison of the country was small.

The most lively and most dangerous of the Roman frontiers was the frontier in Asia.

In Europe and Africa the frontier problems lay in regions where Rome's opponents could scarcely be dignified with a more honorable name than 'tribes.' Compared with that of Rome their civilization was low and their political organization often rudimentary.

In Asia the position was very different; there, and there alone, Rome found herself in contact with another power which might demand the treatment of an equal. This was Parthia, which gradually increased its influence at the expense of its Greek rivals until by 80 B.C. it had reunited the whole central section of the old Persian dominions.

The Romans had annexed Syria in 63 B.C. when the great Pompey had only just put down a pirate organization which had scourged the whole eastern Mediterranean for years. To prevent a recurrence of this plague, if for no other reason, Rome was compelled to control the entire coast line of Syria and south-eastern Asia Minor, and in Syria this could only be done by establishing a frontier on the Euphrates. There, across the river, Rome and Parthia met, and Syria acquired a military importance which made its governor one of the most responsible officers in the Roman world.

To the north of Syria the Romans were faced by a problem even more difficult—the problem presented by the highlands of Armenia, due east of Asia Minor. Here the interests, both military and commercial, of Rome and Parthia clashed, in a region where circumstances combined to make permanent occupation by Rome a most unalluring task. Parthia, too, claimed interests in the country, and was wont to regard the kings set up by Rome as fair game. Thus between Rome and Parthia, Armenia became a bone of contention, just as did Afghanistan in the nineteenth century between Great Britain and Russia.

The Armenian question is one which bulks large in the history of imperial Rome, but here it is only necessary to mention the two most important developments of the first century A.D. In Nero's principate Rome surrendered her claim to choose the Armenian king; in the principate of Vespasian the Roman frontier of the East was completed when the gap between the northern boundary of Syria and the Black Sea was filled by a permanent garrison quartered in Galatia and Cappadocia.

Thus from Gibraltar in the west the frontier ran by the coasts of the Atlantic and the English Channel to the mouth of the Rhine, and thence by Rhine and Danube to the Black Sea. From the Black Sea the line went south to the Euphrates and the Syrian desert; and in Africa, west of Egypt, the Sahara gave a natural protection to the coast-lands of the Mediterranean. Extension by Rome beyond these lines was rare. Apart from the frontier adjustments in Germany, the only two cases of importance are the invasion of Britain by Claudius (A.D. 43), and the annexation of Dacia by Trajan (A.D. 106). For the rest, Rome was wisely content to conserve her strength.

On the west and south the frontiers were so strong as hardly to need defence. But if nature had been generous on south and west, she was less prodigal of help in Asia and central Europe. Though the Sassanid successors of the Parthian kings succeeded in capturing a Roman emperor in Asia Rome managed generally to hold her own, even after the preaching of Mahomet had added religious fervor to

the terror of enemies already strong. But in Europe the extended line from Rotterdam to the Black Sea called for a defence which became ever costlier. The strain of meeting long-continued barbarian pressure in this region contributed not a little to the decline of the Roman Empire; and in the end the western provinces were lost and the civilization of Rome was entrusted for defence to the walls of Constantinople.

The Roman Empire was so large and the regions it contained were so varied that essential commodities could all be produced within its limits, and external trade for the most part dealt in certain articles of luxury. One of these was amber, a substance found on the shores of the Baltic and brought to the Mediterranean world by a route which ran south across Germany through Bohemia to the Danube, and thence round the eastern foothills of the Alps to the Adriatic. To the amber trade much of Rome's knowledge of central Europe was due, and it is the amber trade which explains the presence of scattered articles of Italian origin in northern Germany, and even on the coasts of Scandinavia. In the early days of the Empire Roman traders had penetrated north of the Danube with the enlightened encouragement of at least one potentate in Bohemia, but it was not until the principate of Nero that a Roman is known to have made the journey across Germany from Austria to the Baltic.

The East produced articles of trade for which wealthy Romans would pay whatever price was asked. From India there came ivory, pearls, precious stones, textiles of various kinds and, above all, pepper, in which the traffic was large. Pepper was a commodity much prized in Rome; and to the pepper stores built by the emporer Domitian, beside the Sacred Way, a constant supply was brought from the coast of Malabar.

Egypt was the avenue through which Indian commerce normally reached the Mediterranean, and the Romans took care that this should be so. From 30 B.C. to the time of Trajan, when Rome had possession of Egypt but not of Arabia Petraea—the country lying between the east coast of the Red Sea and Palestine—there was some danger that the Indian trade might escape the charges levied on it in Egypt by crossing Arabia to the Mediterranean. At the mouth of the Wadi Hamdh, a few miles to the south of Wejh, lay the White Township (Leuke Kome), and here we know that a Roman customs station was established to collect dues of twenty-five per cent. on the merchandise of any traders who might try to evade the passage through Egypt.

In Egypt itself the profitable carrying trade was fostered by the government with assiduity. One thing which clearly called for government supervision was the communications between the Nile and the Red Sea. The land roads to the eastern ports radiated from Coptos, thirty miles or so north of Luxor, and thence they led to three different points on the coast, of which the nearest was Leukos Limen (Kosseir).

But in addition to the land routes there was water communication from Nile to Red Sea by the ancient counterpart of the Suez Canal. The long history of this channel begins at least as early as the time of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty (thirteenth century B.C.); but though it was not finally blocked until after A.D. 700, it was by no means in continuous use. Under the weak kings who misruled Egypt in the latter days of its independence the channel fell into disrepair, and though an attempt to reopen it was made by the Pharaoh Necho about 600 B.C., its proper restoration was left for a Persian conqueror, Darius the Great.

Its importance in Roman times is explained by the development of the eastern trade, and this development was due to a discovery so momentous as to demand mention. For long centuries the Indian Ocean, with its unaccountable gales, had been a sea on which men would not venture out of sight of land. Thus the voyage from Aden to India was a laborious progress round the coasts of southern Arabia and Baluchistan, and the journey from Egypt to southern India and back was an undertaking of two years or three.

But at some time between 100 B.C. and A.D. 50 a certain Hippalus—who was one of the captains engaged in the eastern trade—was emboldened by his experience of the periodic winds to entrust himself to the mercy of the monsoons and set his course straight from Aden towards Malabar. The success of Hippalus opened a new era in the history of east-

ern commerce; the voyage from Egypt to India and back could now be made within twelve months, and trade increased as expenses were reduced. Knowledge grew as well and, by the time of Hadrian, Ptolemy the geographer could give some account of eastern India.

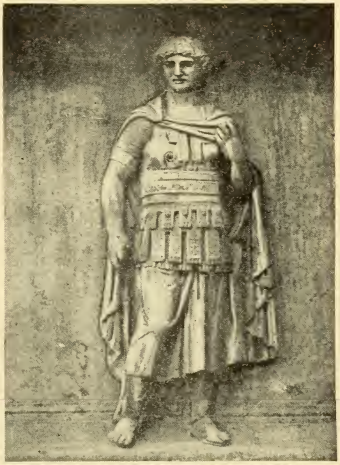
The second great region in the East which attracted the interest of Rome was the country between Asia Minor and the mountains of Turkistan. From the time of Julius Caesar, if not before, silk was a commodity in great demand at Rome, and the Chinese made it their business to keep the secret of the silkworm to themselves. It was not until the middle of the sixth century A.D. that silk was produced in Europe.

In earlier times, though silk was spun and worked in the Aegean, the raw material had to be brought from China. To some extent the Indian route was used, but the difficulties of communication between China and India appear to have been so great that the direct line eastwards from the Caspian through Turkistan offered greater attractions. Here, however, were the Parthians, who undoubtedly made a determined effort to command the Chinese trade.

TYPE OF THE GREAT CITIES THAT FLOURISHED IN THE SECURITY OF AFRICA——

Of all Rome's frontier provinces Africa presented the fewest problems. There were no restless hordes of barbarians behind the uncertain protection of a river or the artificial barrier of a 'limes'; only the nomad Berbers of the Saharan steppe, never really subdued but only demanding the presence of a single legion, the Third Augusta. Hence the land prospered, as its ruins testify; this is a southward view across the western quarter of Thamugadi in Algeria, the modern Timgad, showing its very considerable extent.

Photo, Crété



GRACEFUL FIGURES SYMBOLISING THE NATIONS THAT OWNED ROME'S SWAY

A temple in Rome dedicated by Antoninus Pius to his predecessor Hadrian—some of its pillars can still be seen in the modern Exchange—had the face of the platform adorned with figures of provinces or nations subject to Rome, of the two shown here that on the left is sometimes called Germania, sometimes Gallia, while the other is possibly Hispania or Britannia.

Palazzo dei Conservatori; photo, Moscioni

In the end it was not by land, but by sea, that direct intercourse was established between China and the western world. Somewhere about the end of the first century A.D. an Egyptian merchant sailed round to Tong King, and in 166 there arrived at the Chinese court—probably at the southern capital, Nanking—some merchants who were so far familiar with the Mediterranean world that the Chinese could regard them as ambassadors from the emperor Marcus Aurelius. From that time onwards western knowledge of the Far East slowly accumulated, until the fourth century historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, was able to record that the Chinese live in a country encircled by a wall.

Between A.D. 121 and 132 the emperor Hadrian paid personal visits of inspection to every one of the provinces over which he ruled. His journeyings were complicated, and to follow them in detail would be a task too much over-weighted with petty facts to have a place in this survey of the Empire; but the age of Hadrian is one in which the Empire may be studied at its best. The administrative machine, which it had been the work of the first century to design, was giving the world a government in which mildness and efficiency were combined. The insistent pressure of the barbarian was not yet felt, and consequently the military establishments had not begun to strain the taxable capacity of the Roman world. Within the Empire and without, with the most insignificant exceptions, there reigned a prosperity and a peace as complete as any known to history.

In the economic system of the ancient world the place assigned to slaves was extremely large; and the slaves, of whom a single household might boast five hundred, were drawn from foreign parts. Some came from Europe, but more from the East, and all alike might hope—though the hope was not always fulfilled—to receive their freedom from the habitual generosity of their Roman

masters. Even though efforts had been made by Augustus to set legal obstacles in the way of manumission, the number of slaves thus liberated was very large; nor was it generally long before either they themselves or their descendants received full citizen rights, and even entered the public services of Rome.

Of the diversity of provinces which the Empire contained we may be reminded by the Stock Exchange of modern Rome, which still displays columns belonging to the ancient building on whose site it stands—a temple dedicated to the dead Hadrian by his successor, Antoninus Pius. The podium of this temple was originally decorated with a series of reliefs, each bearing a figure to represent one of the provinces which Hadrian had ruled; and of these figures there were probably thirty-eight.

Of the differences between Roman times and our own one of the most far-reaching is that which has befallen the economic significance of land. In Italy it was the one gilt-edged investment. Among men of wealth the landowners predominated. And when money flowed into a country with more than usual rapidity, as it did into Italy during the second century B.C., the rush to invest it in land was so severe that a social problem was produced by the mass of small land-holders who accepted the inducement offered to make them give up their holdings, and who thereafter too often remained unemployed.

When the wealthy chose land for the investment of their money and became landlords on a large scale, their property might either be worked by their own employees or be let out to tenant-farmers; and it was inevitable that in course of time the tenant system should come to predominate.

The uses to which the land was put were as varied as they are to-day. In Italy, where the surface of the country is by no means uniformly rich, large parts of the poorer regions had been laid down to grass and converted into ranches by the middle of the second century B.C. And on the steeper slopes, where failure to hold up the soil by terraces had allowed the hill-sides to be partially denuded, such fertile ground as remained had been freely planted with olives and vines. But these were not confined to the hills: vines especially spread over the plains—even over the richest such as Campania, though Campania was fertile enough to allow other crops to be sown even in the vineyards themselves. In course of time viticulture took so firm a hold not only on Italy, but on the provinces as well, that soon after A.D. 90 the emperor Domitian issued an edict ordering that in Italy no more land should be put under vines and that in the provinces half of the existing plantations should be destroyed.

The country parts of Italy were self-supporting; they grew corn enough to feed a population which, measured by modern standards, was sparse. But Rome itself had to be fed from abroad; and the corn on which it lived was brought up the Tiber, at first from Sicily and Sardinia, and later more particularly from Tunisia and Egypt. Besides these, however, there were many other regions, still famous for their corn, where in ancient times agriculture was already the main source of wealth.

One such was the lower Danube valley, which first supplied wheat for the city of Rome during the principate of Nero. A second was the European coast of the Black Sea, where the kingdom of Bosporus—round about the Crimea—though it was not technically a province, lay under the strongest Roman influence, and provided at least some part of the food required by the Roman military establishments in the East. To enumerate the corn lands of the Empire would be tedious, but one other productive region is interesting enough to deserve a mention. Northern France and Britain were famous at various times for their agricultural activity; and the 'Roman villas,' the remains of which are the most familiar reminder in southern England of the Romano-British age, were in most cases properties belonging to members of the British aristocracy engaged in the management of large estates. In Britain, however, corn land was not the only national asset.

In the Mendip Hills of Somerset, in Flintshire and Derbyshire, as well as in several other counties, lead was freely worked in Roman times. Tin production, on the other hand, which had reached large dimensions before the Romans came, seems almost to have ceased with the Roman occupation.

The peoples of the Roman Empire, with few exceptions—of which the Egyptians and the inhabitants of North Africa were the most notable—belonged to stocks not wholly unrelated to that from which the Romans themselves were sprung. Few provinces had populations divided from the Italians by a wider gulf than that which separates us from many other peoples of modern Europe. In material culture and in race the various parts of the Roman Empire could boast an underlying similarity which between many of the peoples owning allegiance to the British Crown is noticeably absent.

Barriers indeed existed. Languages were as various as they are now; but in an age when men were not so deeply committed to a single tongue as they are when they have to write it and to read it day by day, bilingualism was not the formidable achievement it has since become. Religion, again, did little to draw peoples asunder; the innumerable cults of a polytheistic world were not antagonistic to one another, and it was only with the advent of Jewish and Christian monetheism that religious intolerance and the missionary spirit made their appearance in the ancient world. Influences like these which tended to keep the peoples of the Roman Empire apart were negligible in the presence of those which made for free and untrammelled intercourse.

The peoples were at least not wholly unacquainted with the type of institutions familiar to Rome. They shared the same ideals of free government, and they were acquainted with the chief instrument by which in the ancient world these ideas were realized. This was the city state, a form of political organization which embraced in its citizenship all the free inhabitants of a certain limited area and which managed its affairs with the aid of magistrates and a council. The self-governing city state had been the essential foundation of Greek civilization in the age of independence; but the complete autonomy that it then enjoyed had contributed largely to the decay of Greece.

Independence had bred jealousy; and it was left for Rome to devise a means of permanently reconciling the independence of the cities with loyalty to a larger whole.

The cities of the Roman Empire handed over the control of their foreign relations to Rome; they were no longer free to declare war on their neighbors as they willed, and thus they were prevented from wasting their strength in those petty squabbles which had sapped the vitality of fourth-century Greece. But of their own domestic government they retained control; and so the city state remained essentially unimpaired—an institution through which men might govern themselves and dispose as they would of their own affairs.

In general it may be said that Rome respected civilizations other than her own, and rarely—if ever—attempted to force the process of Romanisation. Roman manners, Roman customs and the material elements of Roman life naturally permeated the provinces in some degree or other; and regions like the remoter districts of Spain, which were still almost wholly immune from Roman influence in the sixth century A.D., were exceptional. The extensive settlement of Italians in the provinces, and the free intercourse made possible by the construction of those roads for which the name of Rome is famous, combined to make Roman culture familiar to the provincial populations. But further than this Rome did not go; and such features of the Roman ways of life as were adopted by the native peoples were adopted not under duress but on their merits.

There are three matters on which the provincial policy of Rome demands special notice—religion, language and law. In law and language the debt of modern Europe to Rome is notorious, and the Roman attitude to religion is of interest, because it was Rome that had to face the problems presented by Christianity.

To strange religions, merely because they were strange, the Romans were not opposed.

Religion was only attacked if it became objectionable on secular grounds. The emperors Tiberius, Claudius and Nero repressed Druidism in Gaul and Britain because the Druids made themselves apostles of a nationalism directed against Rome. Jerusalem was destroyed because imprudent ambition had raised the cry of Jewish independence. And finally the Christians were persecuted because repeated anti-Christian riots convinced the government, rightly or wrongly, that the

presence of Christians was an incitement to breaches of the peace. But for the rest, provided that they would pay to the gods of the imperial power such respect as any polytheist might show without a qualm, the provincials were left to worship their own gods in their own way, until Christianity conquered rulers and ruled alike in the fourth century.

In language the changes produced by Roman occupation are more difficult to assess and have often been exaggerated. It is a familiar fact that in France and the Spanish peninsula, as well as in Italy itself, the speech of modern times has grown out of the Latin which the Romans introduced. Elsewhere, however, even though a linguistic debt is owed to Rome, the debt has been less directly incurred.

The survival of Welsh, which is derived from the tongue spoken by the Celtic population of Britain before the Romans came, is by itself evidence enough that official Latin did not destroy the native speech; and though it is often suggested that the British population in Roman times was bilingual, there is very little reason for thinking that the masses had anything more than the most superficial acquaintance with Latin. Latin, indeed, is the language of such casual scrawlings as have survived on pots or walls; but monuments of this kind are so few that they are valueless as evidence to show that Latin was known by the whole population.

France, Asia Minor and North Africa were all affected more deeply than Britain by Rome; yet we find their inhabitants by no means wholly bilingual. It is well known that Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons at the end of the second century A.D., had often to preach in Celtic to make himself intelligible; and in the fourth century S. Jerome claimed that there could still be recognized a similarity between the Celtic spoken by the Treviri in the valley of the Moselle and that of the Galatians in Asia Minor. And from Asia Minor comes a more famous piece of evidence. When S. Paul cured the cripple at Lystra and moved the natives to say 'the gods are come down to us in the likeness of men,' the language used was 'the speech of Lycaonia'; and inscriptions discovered during the last fifty years lend support to the suggestion of this passage that in Asia Minor pre-Roman dialects freely survived. Indeed, they did not die out until the sixth century.

Again, there is testimony from Africa. Of the native Berber traces are few, though their scarcity does not prove that Berber was rarely spoken. But the Semitic dialect which the Carthaginians introduced was widely preserved, and so late as the fifth century we find S. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, choosing a man who could speak Punic to be bishop of a place not fifty miles from Hippo itself, where nevertheless Latin does not seem to have been universally known. On the question of language our conclusion must be that Latin did not kill the native tongues. Though in the larger towns, where settlers from Italy were to be found, Latin doubtless prevailed, and though the natives up and down the country may have had a smattering of Latin like that which the indigenous peoples of North Africa now have of French, the old local speech seems still to have remained the speech of the people.

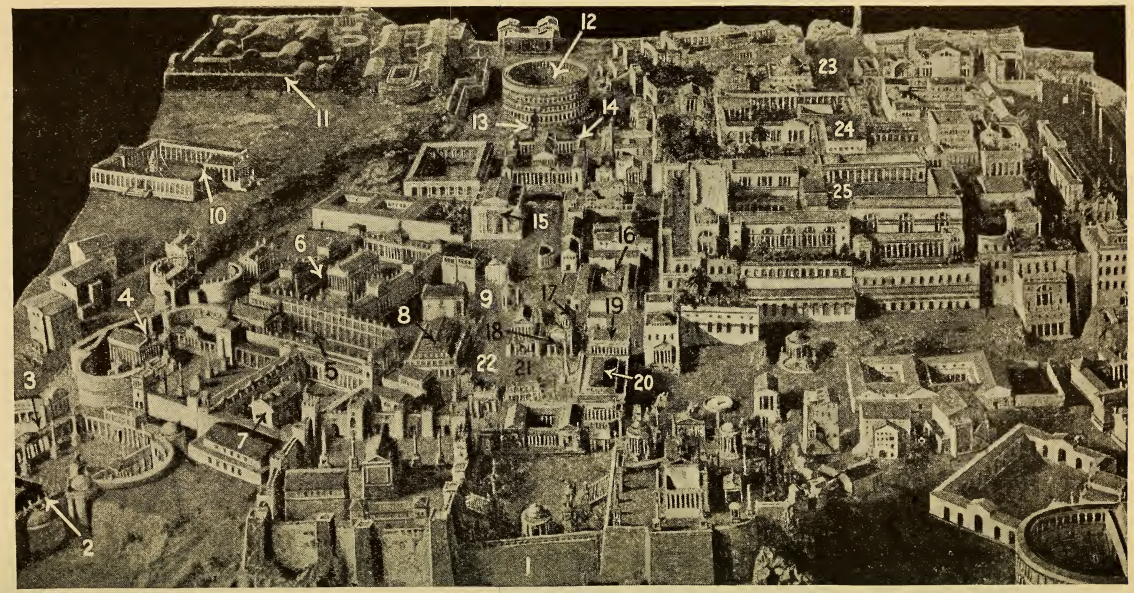
There remains the Roman law—the most enduring of all the legacies left by Rome to her successors (see Chap. 69). In spite of its fame, it cannot be claimed that the legal system elaborated by the Romans made any essential contribution to the well-being of the Empire during the first two centuries of our era. For a people to be prosperous it is essential that justice shall be open to all its members; but that this was the case in the Roman Empire was due more to the governmental ideals and administrative capacity of the Romans than to their possession of a remarkable juristic method and a particular body of law. Before the year 212 A.D., when the emperor Caracalla conferred the rights of Roman citizenship on virtually the whole free population of the Empire, the Roman citizens, who alone lived under the full dominion of the Roman Law, were only a section of the people for whose welfare the Emperor was responsible.

The 'peregrini'—provincials who had not received the Roman franchise—lived at first under their own laws and institutions, though these were worked under a certain amount of Roman control. Criminal justice, at least in cases of serious importance, was administered by the governor of a province, and in civil

matters, too, the governors tended to encroach on the autonomy of local jurisdiction. But when Romans and non-Roman law came thus into contact, the native systems were by no means suppressed. Roman law and local law interacted: each was affected by the other: and it is the readiness of Rome to respect the customs of the provinces, even at the cost of modifying her own juridical system, that makes the attitude of Rome in the sphere of law typical of her whole imperial policy. Even after the 'constitutio Antoniniana' had turned most of the provincials into Roman citizens wholly amenable to Roman law, no complete uniformity was achieved. Local variations persisted, and the government yielded to the strength of provincial usage.

The achievement of Rome was to combine, through the length and breadth of her dominions, efficient administration with the fullest possible measure of local independence. The decline of the Roman Empire is a story that is told in Chronicles XII and XIII. Barbarian attacks on the frontiers and a consequent increase in the tax-gatherers' demands forced the emperors' hands to measures which in the end were disastrous. But from the tale there emerge two lessons which are clear. The first is this—that, if human life is to be at its best, men must be allowed at least a certain freedom to manage their own affairs and to work out their own salvation. And the second is not very different: that state interference with local business and private affairs, though it be begun with the best and most beneficent intentions, runs a danger of leading to a bureaucratic control which deprives its subjects of their essential independence and turns free human beings into machines of the state.

Such was the experience of the Roman Empire. It was an experience brought upon the Roman world by circumstances beyond Roman control. And even towards the end, when troubles multiplied, the tolerance and liberality of Rome were not forgotten. It was in the closing years of the fourth century A.D. that the poet Claudian wrote what still remains one of the most adequate epitaphs on Imperial Rome—'She was not the Mistress but the Mother of her People.'



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE ROME OF IMPERIAL TIMES

1. Capitoline Hill. 2. Basilica Ulpia. 3. Forum of Trajan. 4. Forum of Augustus. 5. Forum of Nerva or Transitorium and Temple of Minerva. 6. Forum of Vespasian and Temple of Peace. 7. Temple of Venus. 8. Basilica Aemilia. 9. Temple of Faustina and Antoninus. 10. Portico of Livia. 11. Baths of Titus and Trajan. 12. Colosseum. 13. Colossal statue of Nero. 14. Temple of Venus and Roma. 15. Basilica of Constantine. 16. House of the Vestals. 17. Temple of Vesta. 18. Triumphal Arch of Augustus. 19. Temple of Castor and Pollux. 20. Basilica Julia. 21. Rostra. 22. Arch of Septimius Severus. 23-25. Imperial Palaces on the Palatine Hill. *Circus Maximus* in upper right-hand corner.

From the reconstruction in plaster by Professor Marcelliani

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF IMPERIAL ROME

THE LUXURIOUS CAPITAL OF THE CAESARS AND THE DAILY DOINGS OF ITS MOTLEY POPULATION

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THE Latin poets of a late age bear remarkable testimony to the enthusiasm with which the imperial city of Rome inspired those who belonged to her not by birth but by adoption.

And so it becomes no unworthy task to try to picture what manner of life men lived in this world city of Imperial Rome.

ATTEMPTS have been made to estimate the population of the city of the Caesars. All conjectures, whether based on the number of inhabitants to the acre or of those in receipt of the dole, must remain very uncertain. Yet it may be said that the round figure of a million and a half, inclusive of slaves, is a by no means fantastic estimate of the population of Imperial Rome in the first century after Christ.

In depicting the different classes of people who inhabited this great city, the most convenient method is to point out what were the chief changes which had ensued in each since the days of Cicero. One main tendency should be stressed. Thanks to the social legislation of the emperor Augustus, the different grades of society had become more sharply divided.

STILL distinguished by the tunic with the broad purple stripe, the Roman senator had to possess property of a certain minimum value; this minimum estimated in terms of today would be about £10,000. He was debarred from marriage with a freedwoman. He might occupy useful administrative posts in the senatorial provinces, and in the Senate performed legislative and judicial work, but could no longer, as under the Republic, affect to control the Roman world. The senator's position seems to have corresponded to that of an average peer; he had the title of "Most Illustrious," enjoyed a distinctive dress, and was entitled to a front seat at entertainments.

In many respects the next order, the equestrian, is more interesting under the Empire. With the sweeping away of the tax-farming system, it lost much of its financial importance. The emperors strictly controlled admission and, while insisting on the old property qualification of the equivalent of £4,000, aimed at creating a useful class of public servants. The shrewd emperor Augustus wanted them for work in the more exposed provinces, and especially in Egypt, where a watchful control was necessary, and for administrative posts in Italy.

The mass of the population, the "plebs urbana," which under the later Republic had become so menacing a problem, still caused much anxiety. The graver disorders had been cured, thanks to the suppression of political clubs and better policing.

OPENINGS for municipal activity were created by the establishment of the city wards by Augustus, and the possession of a vote was no longer a lucrative asset in a popular assembly which existed as a mere formality. The tradesmen and artisans continued to pursue their callings as under the Republic.

Nevertheless, the ruin of agricultural life remained essentially unremedied, and there is abundant evidence, besides that of the dole bestowed on 200,000 persons by Augustus, that Rome contained a large idle population. It is not surprising that Annona was deified as the goddess of the corn market in the first century of the Empire, and that free distributions of

corn became more frequent and more liberal as time went on. Tickets entitling the bearer to the dole have been preserved, and even children participated in the distributions.

The most lurid pictures of the condition of the great mass of the population at Rome are drawn by Juvenal, and though we have to allow for much overcoloring, there is little doubt that the outlines are correct. Rome had become a cosmopolitan city where the quick-witted Greek or Syrian easily ousted the duller Roman. It is not surprising that one of the foremost tasks of the emperors was to keep these crowds of unemployed fed and amused, and Juvenal not unfairly sums up the character of a considerable section of the city populace in the lines:

> The folk who erst
> The general's power, the lictor's rods bestowed,
> Legions and all, now sits at home and frets,
> For two things only longing, bread and games.

WHAT was essentially a new class arose under the Empire—that of the freedmen. The frequent manumission of slaves by testament had reached alarming proportions, and this was checked by legislation. It can be well understood that, as a class largely composed of men of alien blood, the freedmen were perceived to have undesirable features, and their unpopularity would not be lessened by their success in trade, for which they had ample opportunities owing to their exclusion from magistracies.

AS for the slaves, their role was not very different from what it had been in Ciceronian times. They continued to minister to the extravagant luxury of the wealthy, and the question "How many slaves does he keep?" was put by those anxious to ascertain a man's income. Fortunately they lost the opportunity of acting the part of armed ruffians in the train of a Milo or a Clodius. This side of their nature found scope rather in a studied insolence, as when they disturbed the peace of the public baths in their capacity as attendants upon some vulgar millionaire.

Probably the motley appearance of crowds of slaves was even more marked under the Empire than under the Republic. Moorish slaves became popular, and there was also a craze for monstrosities, such as dwarfs and hunchbacks. Terra-cotta statuettes of the Roman period often represent these deformed slaves. On the other hand, tall and handsome slaves commanded high prices, and it is not without reason that Juvenal complains of the insolent manners of pampered menials. The sources of supply were not so abundant as under the Republic, and prices tended to rise.

THE character of women under the early Empire has become almost a by-word, thanks to Juvenal's scathing indictments. It is difficult to preserve an impartial attitude in the face of his diatribes, but a sober estimate will confine his condemnation to a fast set; though it must be admitted that this set was large in the first century after Christ. The counterpart of many of the women with whom he deals in the sixth satire—women who chatter in Greek, bore society with comparisons of Virgil and Horace, and whose talk is like sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal—is to be met with in all civilized societies.

The study of Roman manners in Cicero's age has prepared us for the extravagances of emancipated women, but it cannot be denied that the symptoms increased in intensity under the Empire. The fortunes accumulated by women became larger, and childless widows were the special mark of the legacy hunter.

More and more the marriage tie became disregarded. Juvenal speaks of women who have eight husbands in five years. In fact, the tendencies observed under the Republic were carried on and accentuated, despite the efforts of Augustus; and his endeavor to increase the citizen population by legislation had little permanent effect. The growing passion for murderous exhibitions in the amphitheatre had their influence on the character of women, and they were not averse from inflicting cruel punishments on their slaves.

SOMETIMES, however, as in the letters of the younger Pliny, charming types of womanhood are met with, and those belonging to Stoic circles often showed great courage and devotion. Of such Fannia, the wife of Helvidius Pris-

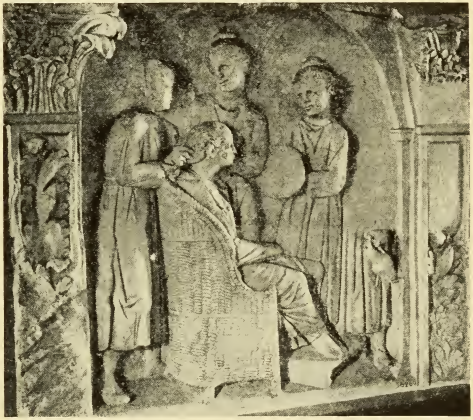
cus, who twice followed her husband into banishment, may be particularly noted.

One great cause of the vices of the women of Imperial Rome was undoubtedly their lack of serious occupation. The breaking down of home life was not compensated for by any new outside interests of value. Little is known as to the more advanced education of Roman girls, though in the elementary stage they were taught with boys, as can be gathered from Martial's statement that the elementary schoolmaster earned the hatred of boys and girls alike. As compared with men, the average woman was probably deficient in culture, though Propertius implies that the title "accomplished" was one to be prized by a woman. The younger Pliny's wife, Calpurnia, was a rare exception, for she displayed a lively interest in her husband's literary activities and even set his verses to music.

But the advocates of higher education for women might certainly find support of a negative character from the condition of upper-class women in Imperial Rome, which never produced a lady of real learning like the Byzantine princess Anna Comnena. The majority devoted all their time to dress and the toilet, frivolities, amorous intrigues, and to displaying themselves at entertainments of a by no means uplifting character. Pliny the elder says that nearly a million pounds was lost each year to the Empire to pay for women's luxuries imported from the East.

It is time, however, to turn our attention to the more intimate features of these inhabitants of Imperial Rome, and to see how they were housed, how they were dressed, what were their principal occupations, what their amusements, and what were their distinctive manners in everyday life.

Augustus (63 B.C.-A.D. 14) is said to have found a city of brick and to have left a city of marble. This exaggerated statement contains a germ of truth, in that he greatly increased the magnificence of the city by his buildings in the Campus Martius, his restoration of temples and his opening of a new forum. The main features which would strike the eye of a visitor to Rome towards the end of the first century after Christ would be the various open spaces or fora, surrounded by porticoed public buildings and enclosing temples with their lavish display of statuary; the magnificent palaces, library and houses on the Palatine; the great space of the Campus Martius with its temples, baths, theaters and athletic courses; the huge Colosseum, the triumphal arches and the great Thermae, or bathing establishments, in various quarters of the city.



MY LADY'S PREOCCUPATION

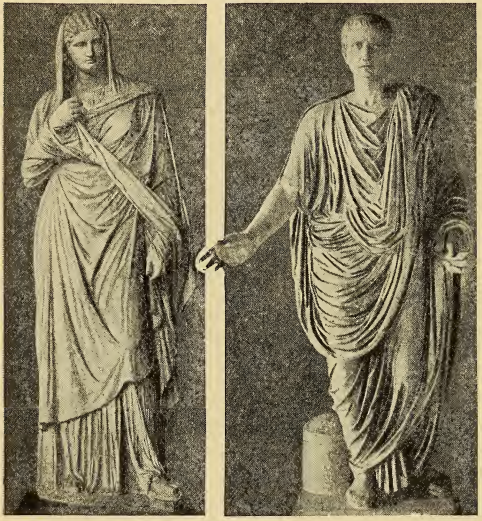
Serious occupation was sadly lacking in the lives of most gentlewomen in Imperial Rome. They devoted much time to their toilet, like this great lady commemorated on her tomb with no fewer than four maids assisting at the arrangement of her coiffure, which she watches in a mirror held before her.

Trèves Museum; photo, Archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire

Even today the visitor with imagination who stands on the Palatine Hill can faintly reconstruct some of the splendors of Imperial Rome; but he cannot fully conceive what it was like in the days

when it contained the masterpieces of sculpture from a despoiled Greece, when every temple was a museum, and the city boasted a variety of marble columns such as the world has never seen since.

But Imperial Rome concealed much that was mean and sordid behind all this magnificence, and Juvenal lets us know that streets were narrow and ill-paved, and that sleep was disturbed because of the clatter of wheeled traffic which could only proceed by night. By day the rich man's palanquin, borne by gigantic slaves, would drive everything before it, and sweep aside unoffending citizens like a tidal wave. The air would be full of a babel of discordant cries, for Rome teemed with foreigners, and to these were added the shouts of vendors selling their wares.



OUT-OF-DOORS COSTUME IN IMPERIAL ROME

The toga was the distinctive article of Roman costume, once worn by every Roman when he went out in the city. How men draped a toga is shown on the right. Certain differences of rank were marked by different 'calcei' (shoes or half-boots). Women also might wear the toga, but more usually the palla or cloak (center), often brightly colored.

Lateran (left, photo Alinari), Dresden (center) and Berlin Museums

There were two main types of houses, the private, in which the wealthier families lived, and the tenement buildings, which were the homes of persons of moderate or small means. We have a clear idea of the former from excavations, particularly at Pompeii and Herculaneum; a less clear knowledge of the latter, but one which has been improved by recent excavations at Ostia, the port of Rome.

The wealthier Roman's house was self-contained, but might have shops, not connected with it, built on either side of the entrance. The windows in the outer walls were few, and light was derived chiefly either from an opening in the roof or from a courtyard. Our Roman house-holder passed from the street-door through a vestibule into a large room, the atrium, which had an opening in the roof with a corresponding basin in the floor for disposing of the rainwater.

Left and right were small rooms, used in imperial times chiefly as sitting or store rooms; facing was a large open room containing his safe and family archives, with wings on either side where his wax family portraits might be displayed. This was the old part of the house used for reception rather than living purposes. To the right of the archive room was a passage, giving a glimpse of the sunlit court beyond, the columned peristyle, round which were ranged the living and sleeping rooms, sometimes in two storeys, and also the domestic offices. The court was gay with flowers and statues, and usually had a fountain in the center.

An important room off the peristyle

was the dining-room, with its three fixed couches for the reclining guests ranged round a table; and large houses would have a library with rolls of parchment and papyrus. There were sometimes, also, private bathrooms, but Rome was so rich in public bathing establishments that these were comparatively rare. The kitchen, and in its neighborhood the water-closet, were placed in the peristyle; the hearth was a simple rectangular stone structure in which charcoal was burned in cavities.

A NOTABLE feature of the kitchen was its shrine for the household gods, the practical Roman considering that the Lares and Penates and the house genius in serpent form found their fitting home there. The floors were of tiles or mosaic, and the walls decorated with frescoes, which sometimes reached the standard of pictures of considerable merit. In general, the Roman private house was well adapted for a warm and sunny climate. The front part was shady, the back airy.

Very different was the housing of the poorer classes. Huge blocks of tenement buildings called "islands" were a feature of Rome, and in many cases these were of a most unsatisfactory description. Those revealed by the excavations at Ostia are of a better class. In these tenements whole families were housed in a few rooms or a single room, and a common shrine served their religious needs.

A slave janitor had charge of the islands and collected the rent. It is to the worst class of these buildings that Juvenal's vivid description of garrets of high price and uncertain stability applies, and it was from them that an unexpected shower of crocks and slops might descend upon the head of the hapless passer-by.

They would also afford much employment to the freedmen cohorts of watchmen organized by Augustus, with their seven stations distributed in the fourteen regions of the city. The trumpet which summoned them and their siphon-hoses and axes must often have sounded from these islands; so often, indeed, that the emperors of the second century made regulations which would astonish the modern householder indignant at being fined for letting his chimney catch fire. We learn that "inhabitants of islands and others, who through lack of care allow fires to break out, may be sentenced to flogging with canes or scourges."

THE outdoor garb of the citizens who dwelt in these houses would strike us as strange. The voluminous white woolen toga was the distinctive garb of the Roman. Its ordinary shape was a segment of a circle, and it seems probable that its length was about eighteen, and its depth seven feet. The draping of such a garment was naturally something of a work of art, and its cumbrous nature made the wearer only too glad to lay it aside. But Augustus, as an upholder of ancient customs, insisted on its being worn in the Forum and Circus. On the other hand, the Roman was unencumbered with hat or stockings, and wore a leather boot reaching some way up the calf. His womenfolk had a simpler outdoor cloak called the palla, which by its bright color would afford a contrast to the whiteness of the toga, and allowed scope for individual taste in the draping. Indoors both sexes wore a long tunic and leather sandals.

Men in the first century of the Empire were clean-shaven, though the wearing of moustache and beard came into fashion in the next. Women bestowed much attention on their hairdressing, and under the Flavian emperors high fringes, supported on metal circlets, were in vogue. The wealthier Roman lady was very fond of jewelry, and much of it, characterized by a lavish use of precious stones, has come down to us.

The Roman was ordinarily an early riser; and, even before his light breakfast of bread, fruits and honey at about nine o'clock, the man of wealth and position went through a very tedious ceremony in the reception hall in the front portion of his house. His clients arrived to pay their morning call, and Juvenal has left us a lively account of what commonly took place at the interview. A motley crowd arrived and after a perfunctory greeting scrambled for meager doles placed in baskets on the threshold. The formality had come to be a nuisance to patron and client alike.

After his light breakfast the more seriously-minded Roman of high standing gave himself over to legal work for the next few hours. Pleading at the bar was

particularly common between nine and ten, though most of the cases would have seemed trivial to a Hortensius or a Cicero. But oratory was the fashion, and was encouraged by the Roman system of education, although good judges like Tacitus were well aware of its superficiality.

At about ten o'clock the Forum would present a scene of great animation, for most of the male population spent their time in the open air, and the fora, like the modern piazzas, were places where all men met. Here the porticoes were full of loungers and gossipers, the bankers and money-changers plied their trade—just as in Eastern countries they carry on their business in the open air to the present time—and on market days the stalls of the countryfolk were conspicuous. The din was occasionally heightened by the arrival of a funeral train with its noisy retinue of flute-players and horn-blowers. Few spots in the world could have offered a greater variety of sights than did the Roman Forum on a market day, surrounded as it was by splendid temples and public buildings, and overshadowed by the magnificent Capitol and the Palatine Hill.

A MERRY BANQUET AT POMPEII

This fresco represents a party in a Pompeian tavern. The slave-boy is offering a cup of wine to a late arrival whose shoes are being removed; another guest, already inebriated, is being helped out of the room, and a negro slave is waiting on an older man on one of the couches.

National Museum, Naples; photo, Anderson

Another occupation which must not be passed over was the duty of a man of literary leanings either to declaim his own works or to listen to the declamations of his friends. The practice, which has met with much ridicule, had, especially in the absence of the printing press, a function of considerable importance with respect to literature, but was apt to become a burdensome duty, and as such is freely satirized by Juvenal. Pliny, always prone to take things seriously, complains of unappreciative audiences, and some, indeed, went so far as to send their slaves as proxies.

A more frivolous section of the population devoted even the morning to gambling, which had a great vogue in Imperial Rome, or went to see pantomimes or charioteers practising for the circus. Tacitus tells us that the rage for pantomimists, gladiators and horses was the peculiar vice of Rome, almost conceived in the mother's womb.

The labors of the morning ended at noon, and then the midday meal was taken, consisting usually of a cold collation, followed by the siesta customary in hot climates. The afternoon was generally devoted to exercise and recreation. Young men and boys would flock to the Campus Martius, and from about 1.30 P.M. to 3.30 P.M. indulge in running, wrestling, jumping, boxing or swimming in the Tiber, with the informality characteristic of Roman athletics.

Bathing, indeed, was an important item in the day of an Imperial Roman, and

his needs in this respect were well catered for. The emperors vied with one another in erecting magnificent public baths—Thermae, or "Warm Baths," as they were called; and by the third century there were eleven of these huge establishments in Rome, together capable of accommodating at least fifteen thousand citizens. This estimate takes no account of the numerous private baths, of which there were over nine hundred.

As for the great Thermae, they served all possible needs of men and women with regard to bathing, and supplied at the same time the conveniences of luxurious clubs. The hours during which they were open varied; at some periods they could be visited only from about 2 P.M. to sunset, at others from sunrise till late at night. The average Roman, however, was content to take his baths following the afternoon exercise; generally he entered the hot-air room first, and after perspiring freely there, took a hot bath and finally a cold one, or else a plunge in the swimming-pool.

After the bath came dinner, which took place in one of the dining-rooms, fitted with three couches (*triclinia*), as has been mentioned above. The meal started at about 4 P.M., and was lengthy, so much so that three hours was considered a moderate time to spend on the meal. Women, when present, sat, or this at least was the ordinary custom. Ovid mentions the banquet as one of the opportune moments for love-making. Lettuces, shell-fish and eggs served as hors d'œuvre, and were followed by the courses proper, which derived their Latin name from the trays on which they were served. These courses tended to become more and more numerous, and Elagabalus gave a dinner of twenty-two; wealthy men, moreover, vied with one another in supplying rare varieties of fish, fowl and flesh.

The freedman Trimalchio devised dainties underlying the apparent courses as surprises for his guests, and the slave carver became a person of importance, expected to wield his knife with the skill and grace of an artist. An offering to the household gods took the place of grace after meat, and dessert then followed in the shape of dried and fresh fruits and cakes. Drinking was principally indulged in after the banquet, when the elected "master of drinking" determined the proportions of wine and water. Italy itself supplied excellent wines, the best of which were from Campania, but Greek wines were freely imported.

Such was an average day's life in Imperial Rome, but the citizen had frequent opportunities of enjoying far more exciting distractions. The dweller in the capital found it hard to abstain from visiting the spectacles of the circus, the theater and the amphitheater. We have seen that these were in full swing in Republican Rome, but under the Empire the number of days on which "games" were celebrated rose to 175.

Such excitements were now a part of the emperor's policy to keep a vast and idle population amused rather than religious ceremonies or, as they had become in the later years of the Republic, gigantic advertisements for ambitious politicians. They were open free to all citizens, and senators and knights had special places allotted to them.

At the foot of the Palatine Hill lay the Circus Maximus, used primarily for chariot racing, and calculated to hold at least 150,000 spectators. The Flaminian Circus in the Campus Martius held a scarcely smaller number. In a few lines Juvenal indicates the tense atmosphere of the circus while a race was in progress:

The Circus holds the whole of Rome today.
Shouts thrill the sky: "Are the Greens winning? say."
If they are beaten the whole City groans,
No less than when for Cannae bitter moans
Arose. Young men beside young maidens fair
Are sitting—backers' hoarse cries fill the air.

The Circus was a narrow oblong of some two thousand feet, with one end rounded, and along its axis ran a low wall called the "spine," surmounted by small shrines, statues, and bronze models of seven eggs and seven dolphins; the turning of these last kept the spectators acquainted with the number of rounds which had been completed by the chariots. At the end of the spine were three pillars, and this was the danger spot for charioteers as they rounded them. The chariots started from stalls with folding doors,

placed at the straight end of the oblong and known as "prisons"; the signal for the start was given by a consul, who threw down a white cloth. The maintenance of these circus games, with the vast staff of drivers and trainers required, was not the least heavy item of expenditure which fell upon the emperor's privy purse.

For those who found the spills in the Circus too mild an excitement, the Amphitheater provided more blood-curdling entertainments. The Colosseum, built by the emperor Vespasian and his son Titus, and capable of seating at least fifty thousand spectators, is regarded as the Roman amphitheater *par excellence*. Yet the remains of numerous amphitheaters in the provinces are proof that others did not fall far behind it in impressiveness. The principal shows in the amphitheater were those of gladiators, wild-beast fights and naval combats. The gladiators were principally prisoners of war and criminals, but in some cases were men of the upper classes, whose spendthrift habits, like those of Juvenal's Rutilus, had brought them to the training school.

Following a careful training in this school, the gladiators exhibited their prowess in the arena. A preliminary bout took place with sham weapons, and then the combatants, as drawn by lot, faced each other in the real struggle. Sometimes one of the pair was killed outright, but more often the beaten gladiator raised his left hand in appeal for mercy. Then the spectators, massed in their tiers, had the decision and, according as their thumbs were turned down or towards their breasts, signifying that the victor's weapon should be dropped or plunged into the victim's breast, determined the release or dispatch of the loser.

Another highly popular spectacle was that of the wild-beast fights. A wonderful variety of wild animals was imported for these fights; Martial mentions the tossing of a bull by a rhinoceros in Domitian's reign. It has been thought that the immense demand for wild beasts for this purpose had the effect of seriously diminishing the fauna of the Roman world. Beast was sometimes matched with beast, sometimes with a man, and at other times condemned criminals (Christians included) were mangled whole-

FOUR-HORSE RACING CHARIOT AND A CHARIOTEER

Racing chariots were built as light as possible of wood and bronze, and were usually drawn by two or four horses, but expert drivers could manage teams of six, seven and even ten horses. The charioteer (right) wore a short tunic, close-fitting cap and a number of leather thongs laced about the body and thighs as protection in case of accident. He also carried a knife wherewith to cut the reins, which were looped round the waist, in emergency.

British Museum and The Vatican; photo, (right) Moscioni

sale. More innocent exhibitions were those of trained and performing animals; but blood lust and cruelty predominated, and Domitian took a special pleasure in forcing men even of noble family to fight in the arena, a fact to which Juvenal alludes in the lines:

It nought availed the wretch all stripped to stand
And pierce Numidian bears on Alban sand.

The amphitheater could be flooded and turned into a lake on which naval battles were fought. In some cases a natural lake or a specially constructed basin was used for these spectacles. A famous combat of this kind was presented in A.D. 52 by the emperor Claudius on the Fucine lake, about fifty miles east of Rome, between fleets called Sicilian and Rhodian, in which no fewer than nineteen thousand men were engaged, and the crews, consisting of criminals or prisoners of war, fought to the death.

We can hardly over-estimate the degrading influence exerted by these blood-thirsty shows upon the character of the Romans. The institutions of wild-beast fights and chariot racing, but not gladiator shows, were carried to New Rome, Constantinople, when Constantine founded his Christian capital, but chariot racing alone maintained a vigorous existence there.

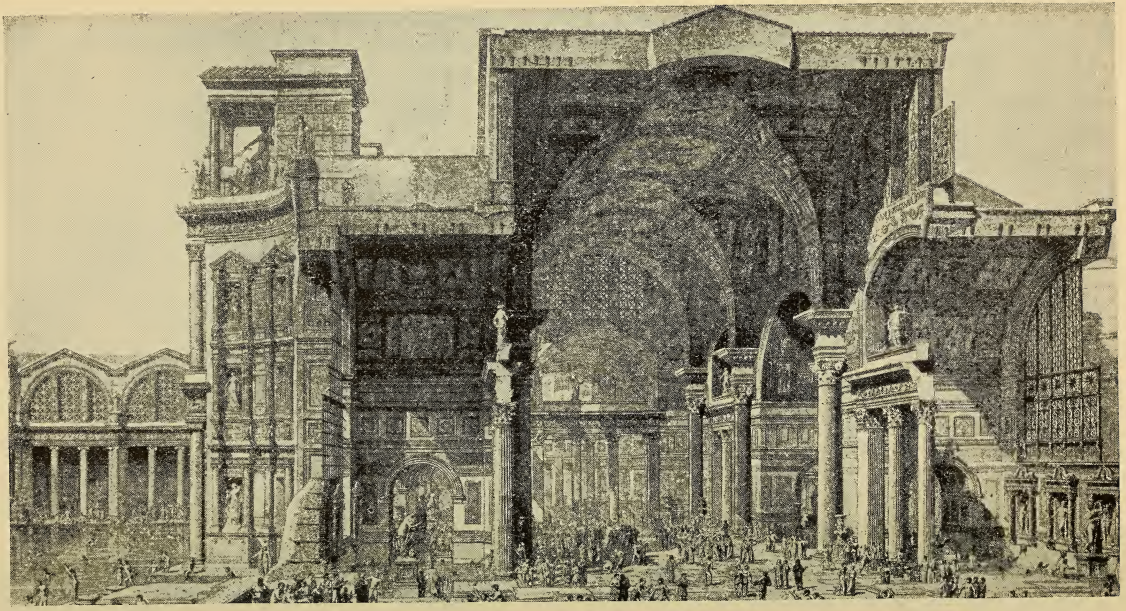
Imperial Rome had three large, permanent stone theaters, and a Concert Hall (Odeum) was built by Domitian. Though Nero instituted regular musical contests and occasional orchestral performances were given in the theaters, the populace never showed much taste for music. Nor did the drama produce marked creative talent or command a genuine enthusiasm in Rome.

What would chiefly strike a modern visitor if he could be transported to a Roman theater would be its open-air character, and also the high back wall of the stage elaborately decorated with marble veneers and furnished with niches for statues. The stage itself was long and broad, and had a semicircular space in front of it, the counterpart of our stalls, reserved for senators. Behind this rose the auditorium, the first fourteen rows of which were reserved for the knights; the people were arranged by tribes, and separate places were assigned to boys, accompanied by their slave-tutors, and to women, who by a regulation of the emperor Augustus were installed in the upper rows. The emperor had a box on the right of the stage, the empress and the Vestal Virgins a corresponding box on the left. The auditorium was split up into numbered blocks or wedges, and the seats in these blocks were assigned by tickets, some of which are still extant. Awnings could be spread over the auditorium to keep out the sun and rain, and saffron was sprinkled to keep the house cool and fresh.

Actors at Rome had a low social status. They were slaves or freedmen, and the Roman citizen who ventured to act lost his civic rights. The manager was generally a freedman, and the actor-troupe was hired by the magistrate responsible for the games. Despite these drawbacks popular actors received high rewards.

The curtain had not the same function as those in the theaters of today; it took the place of the modern back-cloth, and was lowered at the beginning of a play and raised at the end. The scenery was not very elaborate, usually consisting of a palace for tragedy and a street scene for comedy. Men played women's parts, and masks were used, while in tragedy the high buskin exaggerated the normal height of the actor. Thus the aim of all the productions was broad effect; no opportunity was given for facial display of emotion. The plays performed were imitations of the Greek. In tragedy Euripides was a favorite, and such a play as the "Medea" of Seneca gives an idea of the turgid and declamatory style which found favor. Comedy continued on the lines of Plautus and Terence.

As under the Republic, mimes and pantomimes continued to be popular under the Empire. They touched the daily life of the people more closely, and, it may be added, gave greater opportunity for crude realism and licentiousness. The great fortunes mentioned in literature as having been amassed by actors usually apply to the pantomimists, and the most famous of these dumb-show actors in the first century of the Empire was the



MAGNIFICENCE OF DIOCLETIAN'S BATHS REVEALED IN RECONSTRUCTION

Modern civilization has no buildings to show comparable to the baths which were a feature of the great cities of the imperial dominion. Constituting the club of the well-to-do, they provided all the amenities of intellectual life as well as facilities for every kind of athletic pursuit. In this reconstruction of the Baths of Diocletian at Rome the interior is shown in transverse section, with the walls and roof of the tepidarium removed. From the structural point of view the most remarkable feature is the massive vaulting.

From Paulin, 'Les Thermes de Dioclétien'

Egyptian Paris, whose epitaph Martial wrote in the following lines:

O traveller, treading the Flaminian way,
Pass not this tomb without a look.
Here lies a man whose wit and graceful play
Nile gave, and Rome delighted took.
With Paris buried lies the theatre's pride,
Its loves, its griefs, and all that arts provide.

What manner of city was this Imperial Rome, a day in whose life has been described in outline? How would it compare with London of today? These questions apply to the two chief sides of life —its externals and its inner significance.

To the eye of a visitor of Rome with its close-clustered fora and its public buildings ranged around them would be more compact and, therefore, more impressive than London, though the style of many of the buildings would bear a distinct resemblance to our own. The public statues would be far more numerous and artistically striking, and they were more effectively displayed. The most obvious difference would be the absence of the incessant movement of wheeled traffic. On the other hand, as far as human life is concerned, the street scenes of Rome were much more varied and animated. There were the wealthy travelling in slave-borne litters and accompanied by a large retinue of attendants; the porticoes, a feature comparatively strange to us, were thronged with talkative loungers.

However, our visitor, if of a reflective disposition, might try to go a little deeper, and ask whether human happiness has made great advances in the nineteen centuries which separate the great capitals of today from the Rome of the emperors. He could find some, though not unqualified, cause for satisfaction in the great advances in transport facilities and mechanical conveniences of all kinds. He might discern on the whole in his own city a kindlier feeling between man and man, the outward monuments of which are to be seen in hospitals and numerous charitable institutions. He would declare that there was a healthier tone amongst women, and a cleaner and more humane tendency in sport.

He might, it is true, be disposed to debate the question whether free domestic service was more satisfactory than servile, and whether modern industry, with its ever-recurring labor troubles, promoted a more contented life. The monotony of office and factory life might be contrasted disadvantageously with the rather easy-going open-air life of the average Imperial Roman, whose "busy idleness" did not involve the strain of modern hustling. Many other developments of modern civilization would inevitably come up for judgement, and the question would arise whether the extension of education, the growth of the Press and even the invention of broadcasting have greatly promoted human happiness. There is no end to these and innumerable other similar problems. It is hoped that these pages have presented sufficient material in outline to enable the reader to ponder these things for himself, and though no final answer can be given in many cases, the exercise would not be without value.

ROME THE BUILDER: HER ENGINEERING TRIUMPHS

THE PRACTICAL GENIUS THAT CREATED FOR THE ROMAN EMPIRE ITS MOST ABIDING MEMORIALS

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ROMAN civilization had a rural background. The qualities of the Roman were those of the yeoman farmer, hardy and dogged, absorbed in practical detail, caring little for things of the spirit. The distinctive characteristic of Roman farming was its logical thoroughness. The Romans shrank from no labor to attain the efficient organization without which they could not live content. So their empire was an empire of builders and engineers, and in every part of it roads, bridges, aqueducts, town halls and public baths remain as witnesses of their beneficent energy.

In early times the people of Latium had been forced to find means of draining a water-logged soil, for large tracts of their country, and especially of the Campagna, are saturated like a sponge, and the rainfall, being unable to penetrate the wet ground, flows away over the surface, removing the fertile top soil.

By way of remedy a system of drainage was devised, following the sides of the shallow valleys so as to intercept the springs which rise on the slopes, and delivering into ditches or stream beds. These works were probably completed in the period of Etruscan domination.

Draining the plain taught the first tillers of the soil the secret of how to take levels and drive tunnels. Their successors, in early republican times, proceeded to the more difficult task of draining the mountain reservoirs that fed the troublesome springs below. The best known of these undertakings, a tunnel to drain the Alban Lake, is dated by tradition in 396 B.C., and the work was so well done that the tunnel has been in use ever since.

A wide range of materials and processes was used by Roman engineers and builders. They handled wood with great freedom and skill, and something must be said of their achievements in this material before we deal with the surviving monuments of stone, brick and concrete. For the main structure of bridges and public buildings timber was the normal material in early republican times. Theatres, amphitheatres and circuses, sometimes of great size, were built of wood as late as the first century after Christ.

The first teachers of the arts in central and northern Italy were the Etruscans. Under Etruscan rule the cities of Latium and Campania adopted the Tuscan style, and built temples with widely spaced wooden columns and terra-cotta facings. From skilful handling of wood they went on to work the soft volcanic tufa, abundant throughout the region, adorning it with facings and mouldings of stucco.

A leading feature of Etruscan architecture was the frank adoption of the arch, long known but only sparingly used in the Near East and in Greece. The Etruscans, and after them the Romans, employed the arch, the vault and the dome, making the semicircle a normal element in their architecture.

The search for a better stone led to experiments with travertine, a hard white limestone quarried near Tivoli, whence it was transported by water; this soon became the normal material for public buildings.

Meanwhile, Etruscan influence was waning and Greek taking its place. It was Hellenistic builders who popularized the use of lime mortar from the third century B.C. onwards. Hitherto, sun-dried bricks had been used in cheap construction, but it was now possible to build with a mixture of rubble and lime. This led to the discovery, first made at Puteoli, that the local volcanic earth when mixed

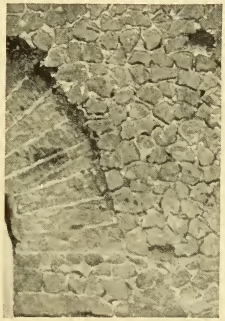
with lime furnished an almost indestructible cement. Since "pozzolana," as it is now called, can be trusted to set under water, it was used for sea-walls and jetties, as well as for foundations and temple platforms.

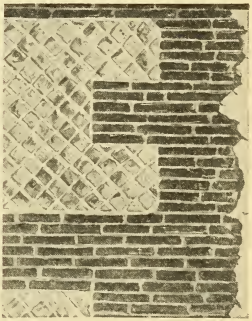
THIS development made possible the triumphs of imperial Roman architecture, in particular the roofing of vast spaces such as the halls of public baths and palaces. It was seldom used without some kind of facing, often of small lumps of tufa arranged without pattern (second century B.C.), or in a regular net pattern (first century).

IN public buildings and palaces the walls were veneered and the floors paved with slabs of marble and other costly stones. Whereas the Greeks had used walls and roofs of solid marble for their temples, and that marble plain white with only a few painted enrichments, the Romans obtained a more brilliant color effect by using variegated stones. Since these were brought from a distance, they were cut into thin slices and made to go as far as possible.

On the outside of such buildings Roman construction and Greek decorative methods were combined. Façades supported by one or more tiers of arches were faced with half-columns bearing architraves, a mere screen of traditional decoration. In the Colosseum three such orders of columns are superimposed, but the whole weight of the structure is borne by the arches. So strong was the Greek tradition that centuries passed before architects placed the arch direct upon the columns, yet occasional examples occur from the Antonine age onwards. It was perhaps in the palace of Diocletian at Spalato (about A.D. 300) that the system was first given prominence in a great imperial building.

From the Etruscans the Romans had learned how to build stone barrel vaults, which had been invented in the East. In the first century B.C. more complex forms appeared. The colossal terraced temple of Fortune at Praeneste, that of Hercules at Tibur (Tivoli) and the Tabularium or record office at Rome all belong to the age of Sulla, and have features in common which suggest that they were designed by one and the same architect; in each of them we find more complex vaulting, including the use of cruciform piers from which spring four vault-arches. The developed cross-vault with groins appears in Nero's reign, and in his Golden Palace there is a remarkable octagon room, sixteen feet in diameter, roofed with a spherical vault.



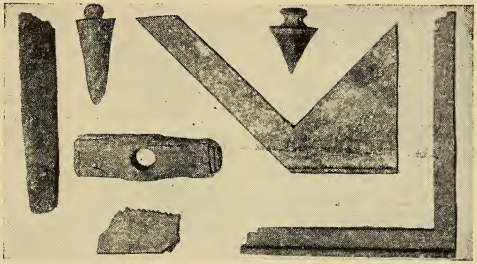


METHODS OF ROMAN BUILDING

Roman walls were of concrete faced with brick or stone. When the facing was of irregular tufa lumps it was called 'opus incertum' (left); when of regular pieces set diamond-wise, with points facing inwards, 'opus reticulatum'; when of thin triangular bricks similarly disposed, 'opus testaceum.' Right, 'opus reticulatum' with quoins of 'testaceum.'

During the first century A.D. timber of large dimensions was probably becoming scarce, yet the need of covering vast spaces, especially the halls and baths, became more pressing. Since even the wooden centrings used in building concrete vaults were costly, a method was devised of using bricks to form a skeleton of transverse and diagonal ribs above which the background of the vault was filled in. Above the brick skeleton was formed the actual vault, immensely strong because composed of pozzolana, lime and broken stone.

Such a vault, once set, "was quite devoid of any lateral thrust, and covered its space with the rigidity of a metal lid." Buttresses had been necessary to take the thrust of stone vaults, and this traditional feature survived, perhaps because Roman builders did not appreciate the static qualities of their concrete vaults. Gradually, however, they modified the old system, and transferred the buttresses to the inside of a vaulted hall, thus breaking up the inner wall by a series of recesses and projections. The temple of Diana at Nîmes is an interesting example of this arrangement associated with stone vaulting. The Pantheon at Rome has eight interior buttresses, flanked alternately by square and round recesses. This principle was carried further in the great baths and basilicas. The span of the dome of the Pantheon is slightly over 142 feet. The tepidarium of the baths of Diocletian is 210 feet long by 80 feet. In the basilica of Maxentius the main hall is over 80 feet wide, and is roofed by three gigantic cross-vaults, resting on eight columns over 60 feet high.



TOOLS THE ROMAN BUILDERS USED

In view of the reputation of the Romans as builders these tools that they actually used are of compelling interest. Hammerhead (center left), set-squares and plummets can be recognized; and the fragments of saws remind us of the extensive part once played by woodwork in Roman construction.

British Museum

The roads of the Roman Empire are its greatest monument. Cities crumbled, aqueducts ceased to flow, but the roads, however worn and neglected, continued to bear the traffic of the Middle Ages, and since their course was well chosen many of them are in use today. Their original purpose was strategic and administrative, but as the Empire grew they were the arteries along which its life-blood flowed.

A Greek geographer in the reign of Augustus notes how skilfully the roads radiating from Rome had been graded by cuttings through hills and by embankments across valleys, "so that a wagon can take the load of a barge," a significant phrase implying that heavy goods normally went by water.

All the roads from the capital must have been as busy with horse traffic as the roads round London in the age of coaches and curricles. The Via Appia offers notable instances of the measures taken to save time on a main thoroughfare. It was laid out in 312 B.C., running southeast from Rome to Capua, and set a standard of undeviating straightness. The high embankment that carries it in a mathematically straight line was due to its designer, but the paving of lava slabs still visible for long stretches in the Campagna, the massive viaduct crossing the valley of Aricia, and the rock-cutting 120 feet deep through a promontory at Terracina are typical improvements of the imperial age.

Difficulties were presented to the road-maker by the populous region round the Bay of Naples because the coast was broken up by volcanic ridges and craters. A solution was found in tunnel roads, an expedient that remained rare in antiquity. Agrippa was a pioneer in this as in other branches of engineering. In 37 B.C. he converted the gloomy, land-locked cup of Lake Avernus into a naval harbor and connected it with Cumae, the nearest town, by a subterranean road three-quarters of a mile long, with shafts for lighting and ventilation. About the same time a tunnel road was made through the cliffs from Pausilypon, now Posilipo, to Naples. It is partly lined with stone and varies in width from 13 to 21 feet, and in height from 13 to 28 feet. It was a public thoroughfare in the time of Au-

gustus, but one of his immediate successors seems to have appropriated it as a private drive. It was replaced as a public road by another tunnel, the well-known Grotta di Posilipo, which is still in use.

Second only to the Appian Way was the Flaminian Way, the great north road leading to Gaul, Germany and the Danube provinces, and crossing Apennines and Alps by splendid triumphs of engineering. It was started in 220 B.C. to link Rome with the alluvial plains on both sides of the Po, which had recently been conquered and colonized; but here, too, emperor after emperor made costly improvements.

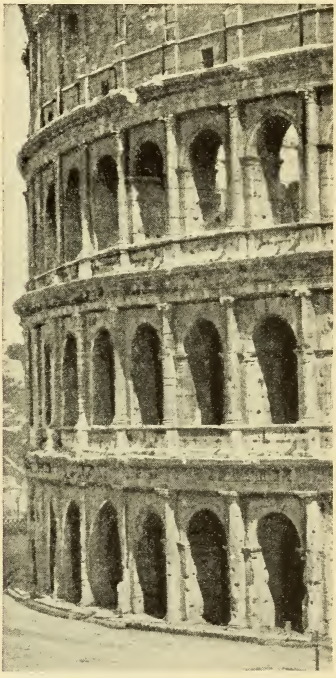
The forces of Nature have dealt hardly with Roman roads in the Alps, but enough remains to show that they chose open ridges and avoided ravines that would require bridging. The carriage roads are seldom more than 12 feet wide, the pack trails less.

Materials used were the best to be found in each district, and the construction varied with the materials. The breadth of main roads in the northern provinces was greater than in Italy. They were often twenty or more feet broad and bounded by a ditch and bank on either side. Marshes were crossed by driving in piles and nailing on them a platform of tree trunks; or an embankment of earth and stone was held up by piles and walls at either side. The milestones were round pillars bearing the emperor's name, and were frequently renewed.

THE roads were well supplied with bridges. So sound in design, so solid in construction were these bridges that after two thousand years a number of them carry traffic today. But in this, as in other branches of building, wood preceded stone.

Of a type familiar in the East and in the Greek world, the first stone bridges had stone piers and a wooden superstructure. Such was the Pons Aemilius, built in 179 B.C., and rebuilt with six stone arches in 142 B.C. Long after, when it was one of six or seven stone bridges within the city bounds, people still spoke of it as *the* Stone Bridge, for it marked an epoch—the application to bridge-building of a method long used for culverts and gateways.

Other early examples are the Bridge of Fabricius (62 B.C.), which replaced a wooden bridge that linked Rome with the island in the Tiber, and the Bridge of Cestius, linking the island with the farther bank: the former well preserved, the latter rebuilt in modern times. In general



GREEK ON ROMAN

The Colosseum well shows the adorning with Greek architecture of a fundamentally Roman structure; it is the arches, not the engaged columns, that bear the weight. The storeys are Tuscan-Doric, Ionic and Corinthian in style.

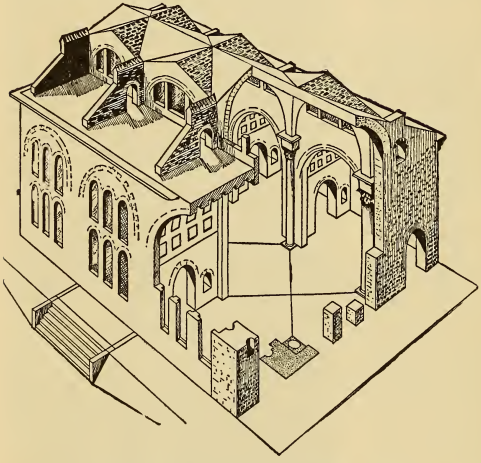
Photo, Anderson

these early specimens show the characteristic features that were to persist in later centuries: massive piers with pointed cut-waters upstream, one or more semicircular arches of moderate span for the main channel, and a graduated succession of smaller arches for flood water. The

piers were broad and closely set, which makes for strength but reduces the free-way; so an additional flood arch was often provided high in the face of each principal pier.

That this type of design provides an ample margin of stability is proved by the long life of man. Roman bridges.

Where river-banks were low the use of semicircular arches made necessary a considerable ascent from either side. This "humped profile" is the one fault in the Pons Aelius, the finest of the bridges at Rome. On the other hand, perhaps because they were accustomed to carry aqueducts across valleys at a high level, Roman engineers were reluctant to set a bridge lower than its approaches.



VAULTED IN THE ROMAN WAY

What could be achieved with the Roman concrete vault is well shown by the Basilica of Maxentius (c. 310) in Rome, here reconstructed. The space which the three massive cross-vaults have to roof is more than 80 feet in width, and the eight columns that support them are each more than 60 feet high.

From 'The Legacy of Rome,' Clarendon Press

Among the improvements made by Augustus on the Via Flaminia was a lofty bridge, 140 yards long, which crossed the valley of the Nar. One graceful arch still stands; of three fallen arches the largest had a span of about 105 feet and its height above the stream is 98 feet. It is surpassed, however, by a famous structure in central Spain, still known by its Moorish name of Alcantara, "The Bridge." It is 177 feet in height, and the largest of its six unequal arches has a span of 118 feet. The roadway is perfectly horizontal and the soffits—the downward surfaces—of the arches are kept in line below it by springing them from different levels, a device more than usually effective in this case because the piers also start from different levels on the rocky side of the gorge. On a simple arch which spans the roadway at the center of the bridge is inscribed a dedication to Trajan, dated A.D. 106.

Italy, Spain and southern France are the regions where Roman bridges can best be studied. But there are many in Asia Minor, Syria and North Africa, for the most part ruinous through neglect. Arched bridges played little or no part in the northern provinces, where the older type with timber superstructure continued to hold its own, the supports being wooden piles or floating pontoons or stone piers.

The first stone-pier bridge on the middle or lower Rhine was built at Mainz, probably towards the end of the first century A.D., the second at Cologne in 310. The former, over half a mile long, seems to have had twenty-six piers, 50 to 100 feet apart, and a timber roadway. The foundations were laid by sinking a timber frame of the dimensions of the pier, driving huge iron-shod piles within and without, and packing the inside with stones to form a platform from which the ashlar courses started. In many cases, as in the piers of Roman bridges in Northumberland, the masonry was tied together with iron cramps. At Cologne the engineers re-used a variety of mouldings in their foundations, a sign that the

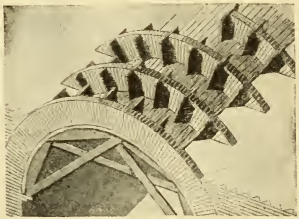
break-up of the classical world had finally begun.

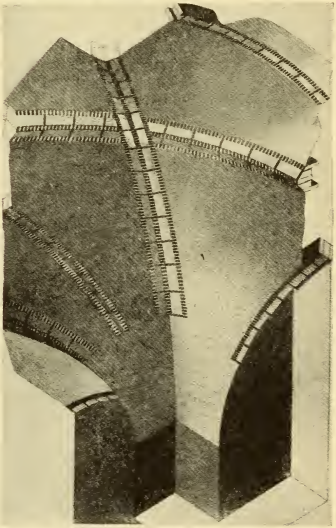
A FEAT of engineering as remarkable in its way as Caesar's spectacular work on the Rhine was the bridging of the lower Danube by Trajan. Remains of it may still be seen near Turnu Severin, where the Danube emerges from the defile of the Iron Gates and forms the boundary between Serbia and Rumania. It was 1,225 yards long, divided into two sections by an island, and the span between its piers was as much as 125 feet. The foundations were of concrete, faced with stone and resting on piles; in view of the depth and force of the stream it is probable that coffer-dams were used. A representation of this bridge on Trajan's Column shows that the architect, Apollodorus, used an arch-like system of timber trusses to support the roadway. Built in A.D. 105-106, to secure communication with the newly-conquered province of Dacia, it is said to have been dismantled a few years later as a precaution against raids by the barbarians beyond the river.

WE have seen that in bridge-building as in other branches of engineering the Romans were bold and resourceful, not tied to traditional forms but ready to treat each problem on its merits. They aimed at stability and practical convenience rather than outward effect, and for that very reason their structures, massive and unadorned, convey a sense of grandeur and power.

We are better informed about the aqueducts that supplied the city of Rome than about any other department of Roman engineering, thanks to the preservation of an official report on them. There were nine aqueducts in the second century A.D., four dating from Republican times, three from the reign of Augustus, and two from that of Claudius. Soon after the writing of this treatise another was added by Trajan, and an eleventh followed a century later. They were all low-pressure aqueducts, conveying the water in concrete channels with numerous shafts for ventilation. The channel is always large enough to permit a man to pass through.

Like the Appian Way, the earliest was the work of Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C. Its course of about ten miles was mainly underground. The next (270 B.C.), more than four times as long, tapped the River Anio some ten miles above Tivoli; it, too, was subterranean. In 144 B.C. the Aqua Marcia, a much bolder work, was constructed at a higher level, running seven miles above ground; and whereas its predecessors supplied only the lower quarters of the town, it was high enough to reach the Capitol. Its length was over fifty miles. Little





ROMAN INVENTION

The concrete vault was a Roman invention. A brick skeleton was first constructed as in the top diagram, and the concrete poured in between the ribs. After setting, the ribs showed like girders from the inside (below, seen in Diocletian's Baths at Rome).

From Choisy, 'L'art de bâtir chez les Romains'

HOW ROME'S ENGINEERS MADE WATLING STREET

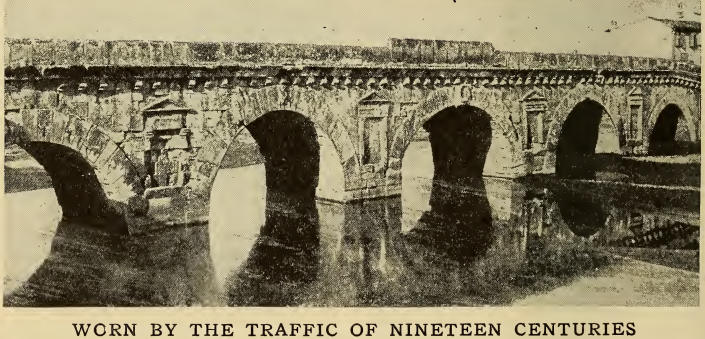
A section through Watling Street near Wigmore revealed that it follows closely the prescriptions of Vitruvius. On the surface of virgin soil (the 'gremium') was laid a foundation of cobbles (the 'statumen'); next came 18 inches of gravel of which the upper 4 inches were concreted with lime—this corresponds well enough with the 'rudus' and 'nucleus' of Vitruvius, 9 inches of rubble underlying 6 inches of broken brick and pottery. On top of all was the 'pavimentum' of irregular limestone slabs.

From Jack, 'Excavations on the Site of Magna'

need be said of the Republican and Augustan additions, but the Aqua Claudia (built A.D. 38-52) merits description. This, the noblest of the series, starts in the Sabine mountains near the source of the Aqua Marcia and takes a more direct course, about forty-five miles, of which ten are above ground. At the same time a new supply was brought from the upper course of the Anio, a direct distance of 42 miles. The muddy water required a special system of purification and its quality was improved by Trajan, who lengthened the aqueduct by five miles and used as settling tanks the three lakes that Nero had formed to embellish his villa at Subiaco.

The total length of the fourteen aqueducts which supplied Rome was two hundred and sixty-five miles. As early as the reign of Augustus almost every house had its pipe from the main, its cisterns and taps. The provision for the capital was generous, but the needs of other cities and even of country districts were not neglected. Throughout the provinces there grew up a system of storage and supply far in advance of anything previously known, and in many regions surpassing what exists at the present day. North Africa, Arabia and Syria tracts now deserted were then fruitful and populous.

These provinces, where the rainfall was uncertain, offer many examples both of barrages blocking a valley so as to form a collecting basin and also of immense storage cisterns in the neighbourhood of



WORN BY THE TRAFFIC OF NINETEEN CENTURIES

Some of the Roman bridges were so excellently constructed that they have been preserved through the ages to bear the traffic of today. This fine structure, the Bridge of Augustus, at Rimini (ancient Ariminum), built in A.D. 22, is a case in point. Its five arches are separated by massive piers containing in each spandrel an ornamental niche instead of the more usual flood arch.

Photo, Emilia, Bologna

towns. On the other hand, where the supply was abundant, as at Rome, little storage was thought necessary, and such reservoirs as existed were provided as settling tanks at the starting-point.

OUTSIDE Rome the most famous aqueduct is the gigantic Pont du Gard, which carries the water supply of Nîmes across the gorge of the River Gard.

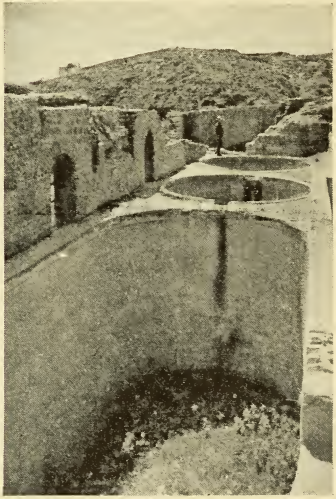
This stately pile is only one section of a work twenty miles in length, carried out of sight for the most part and manifesting the same skill and resource in combating difficulties underground. Its height is 160 feet, and the span of its principal arch in the first and second tiers over 80 feet. The designer, who used so well this opportunity of giving visible expression to the power of Rome, may have been Agrippa, the statesman who inspired and directed so many public works under Augustus. He came to Gaul in 19 B.C. and laid out the four great roads radiating from Lyons. It was probably at this time that aqueducts were built to supply Nîmes and Lyons.

Nîmes did not wholly fulfil the expectations then formed of her future importance, but Lyons became one of the chief cities of the Empire and within the next two centuries three more aqueducts were built for her. Two of them are remarkable in including lengths of high-pressure conduit. Instead of crossing a valley on a lofty bridge of masonry the water passed from an open channel into a closed pipe, formed in one case of stone, in the other of lead.

PROVINCIAL aqueducts on the low-pressure system were numerous and sometimes of surprising length; that of Carthage is ninety-five miles long. In general, their tunnelled underground sections are more remarkable than their masonry above ground. The longest arcaded stretch in Gaul, part of the conduit supplying Metz, measured 1,225 yards, and had 118 arches. The highest, near Cahors, was in three tiers, and is said to have been 180 feet high.

Spain has two notable examples which are still in use. Segovia was supplied by an aqueduct nearly eleven miles long which approached the citadel by a bridge of two tiers of granite arches, restored by Queen Isabella in 1457. The aqueduct at Tarragona, capital of the eastern province, is twenty-two miles long and enters the town as a bridge of two tiers, finely proportioned and built, as at Segovia, of massive granite without mortar.

Water power was used for grinding corn and sawing stone, and doubtless for other



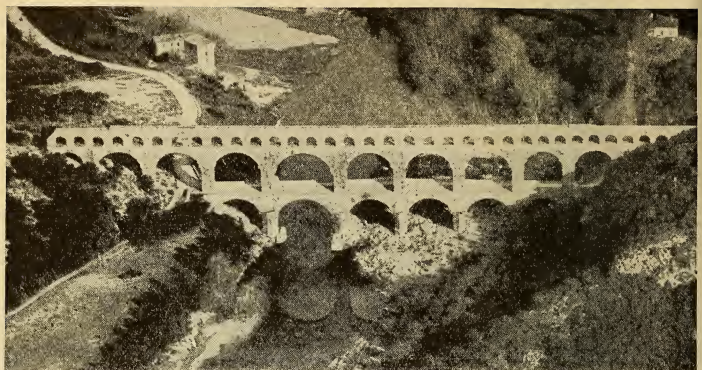
GREAT CISTERNS AT CARTHAGE

In provinces like Africa where water was scarce it was necessary to store it as well as merely convey it to the city. Hence the aqueduct at Carthage, for instance, discharged into huge cisterns which further acted as settling-tanks.

Photo, G. R. Ballance

industrial purposes. One of the few Roman aqueducts in Britain of which remains have been traced brought water to the gold mines of Dolaucothy in Carmarthenshire.

On water also the Roman world depended for the movement of merchandise in bulk. Since all great cities grew up near a seaport or a navigable river, much attention was paid to harbor works and the regulation of rivers. At Rome the banks and channel of the Tiber were under the charge of commissioners, who



THE PONT DU GARD SEEN FROM THE AIR

The conduit that supplied Nîmes (Nemausus) with water ran mostly underground, but where the valley of the Gard has to be crossed it is borne on an aqueduct, short compared with most others, but superb in its proportions and wonderfully preserved. The 'bridge' consists of three superimposed tiers of arches, the length of the topmost tier being 880 feet, its greatest height (from water-level) 160 feet and its width 10 feet.

Photo, Compagnie aérienne française

maintained the river-walls and towing-paths, prevented encroachments, and took measures to guard the low-lying quarters from floods.

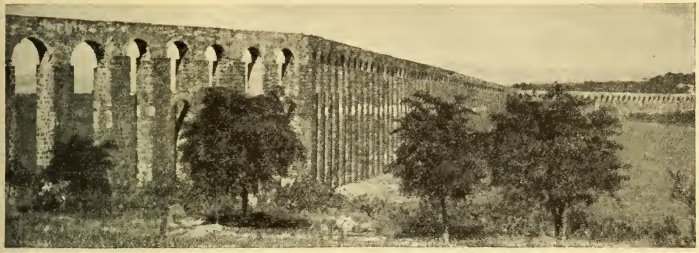
Long before the peoples of central Italy took to the sea, Greeks and Phoenicians had occupied most of the natural harbors of the Mediterranean, and begun to equip them with moles and quays; but they were not familiar with the hydraulic cement that was the especial contribution of Italian engineers.

Volcanic ash quarried around Vesuvius, and first used in the Campanian port of Puteoli, lent itself to the construction of piers under water with the help of caissons, and to the raising of quays above water level on a system of arches and vaults. Against winter storms, however, more solid barriers were needed, and after the reign of Augustus arcaded harbors were no longer built. Massive concrete masonry became the rule.

An artificial island serving as a breakwater was first employed in the port of Ostia built by Claudius at the mouth of the Tiber. There lay in the docks at Puteoli a huge ship built in Caligula's reign for the transportation of a granite obelisk from Egypt, and preserved there as a curiosity. She was filled with concrete blocks, which were piled into towers amidships and at bow and stern. Then this gigantic caisson was towed to Ostia and sunk to make a foundation for a lighthouse and other buildings. It was an ingenious device to overcome difficulties caused by the depth of water.

The harbor itself, an almost semicircular basin enclosed by two curving moles, partly excavated within the shore line and partly enclosed from the open sea, was connected with Rome by a canal, more direct than the winding river, and a service of barges towed by oxen. Unfortunately, the site was ill chosen, since it lies north of the Tiber mouth, and the prevailing currents carry the silt in that direction. The moles which once jutted out to sea are now divided from it by two miles of newly formed land.

The next addition to the harbors of Rome was the inner basin constructed by Trajan. The great size of the Claudian harbor had proved a weakness, and in stormy weather its shelter was insufficient. A gale in A.D. 62 destroyed two hundred ships and their



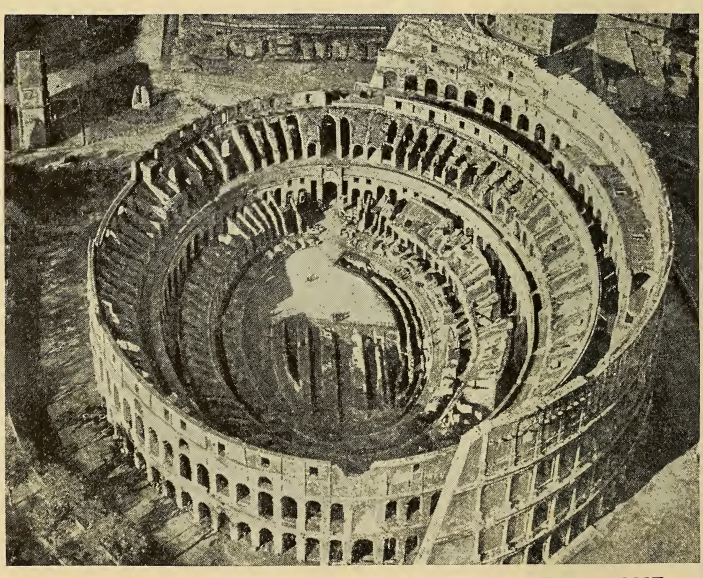
ROMAN AQUEDUCTS OF MOST NOBLE PROPORTIONS

The aqueduct (upper photograph) that brought water to Roman Carthage from the mountains of Tunis ranks second to none in the Empire. Another magnificent specimen is the 'Devil's Bridge' (lower photograph) that still brings water from the Rio Frio to Segovia, ten miles distant; much of it is underground, but here it towers 130 feet above the Spanish town. Such aqueducts involved immense labor compared with a modern pipe-line, but it must be remembered that work and materials were cheap, whereas metal was expensive, nor was it then possible to make a pipe of large enough bore to carry the necessary volume of water.

cargo of foodstuffs actually within it. Trajan decided to provide a safer and separate anchorage for the corn-ships, thereby releasing quay space in the existing harbor for private traders. The new basin, excavated inland to the southeast of the Claudian harbor, is a symmetrical hexagon of which each side measures 1,200 feet. The whole design has an architectural unity and symmetry rare in Roman engineering.

Sailors in antiquity, navigating without a compass, were more dependent than those of today on sea-marks and guiding lights. The Pharos of Alexandria (about 280 B.C.), with the exceptional height of 400 feet, since the coast-line was low and the harbor without natural features to distinguish it, served as a model for lighthouses throughout the ancient world. In Italy they existed at Brindisi, Ravenna, Aquilea, Capri, Putcoli and Ostia.

CALIGULA erected a lighthouse at Boulogne in A.D. 44 to commemorate his intended invasion of Britain. The structure known as the Tour d'Ordre, which stood at Boulogne until the seventeenth century, was certainly Roman, but its banded masonry has been thought to indicate a rebuilding after Caligula's time. It was a tapering octagonal tower of twelve storeys rising from a base 64 feet in diameter to a height of 200 feet, built of white stone, yellow stone and red brick in successive courses. Charlemagne restored it in 811 and had the light maintained. About 1640 the cliff on which it stood was undermined by quarrying and the tower fell, but its design is known from descriptions and sketches. On the opposite coast Dover had an octagonal lighthouse, still to be seen on the cliff east of the harbor, and there may have been a second situated on the west.



THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE AT ROME——

There had been earlier wooden amphitheatres at Rome, and the stone-built amphitheater at Pompeii is believed to date from 75 B.C., but the mighty Colosseum begun by Vespasian in A.D 72 was really the parent of all the many similar structures that arose throughout the Empire.

Although the ancients were so dependent on waterways they made no use of locks. Their canals were governed by the natural level of the sea or the rivers with which they were connected. But this must not blind us to the skill and judgement shown in rectifying river mouths. Rivers that flow into the Mediterranean, having no tide to remove the silt that they bring down, quickly form a bar, flanked by lagoons which in time become marshes and eventually dry land. The ancients had no adequate means of dredging. The solution adopted was to cut a new river mouth at a point more or less free from the risk of silting.

In Roman towns the drainage system was far in advance of Greek practice. The site of Rome, originally a group of hilltop villages, included marshy valleys through which sluggish streams made their way to the Tiber. As the town spread downwards, these were embanked between massive walls. Tradition said that the principal channel, the Cloaca Maxima, was constructed in the time of the kings, and its walls may well be the work of Etruscan engineers. Its average height is 14 feet, its width 11 feet. Originally an open canal, it was afterwards vaulted over—perhaps as late as 150-100 B.C. Its zigzag course evidently corresponds with that of the original stream, rectified into a series of straight sections. Rising between the Oppian and Quirinal hills, it flowed under the Argiletum, crossed the Forum, and, after two right-angled bends, traversed the old ox-market and entered the Tiber, where its mighty arched outlet is still visible. Rome had two other sewers comparable to this in size, now buried

——AND ONE OF THE PROVINCIAL COPIES

The Flavian Amphitheatre has its more popular name of Colosseum from the colossal statue of Nero that stood hard by. The air-view shows its present ruinous condition—due not so much to the passage of time as to the depredations of medieval builders who used it as a quarry; in its prime it measured 615 by 512 feet.

Air photo, 'L'Illustration'; photo on right, Jacques Boyer

thirty to forty feet below the modern streets.

The cloacae received surface water as well as sewage from houses and public latrines—a combination contrary to modern sanitary rules, but common in European cities down to recent times. Whatever their sanitary defects, the construction of the cloacae calls for admiration. They did their work until choked by neglect in the Middle Ages. The lower portion of the Cloaca Maxima has never been out of order, and its upper stretches were cleared and brought again into use in 1872 and 1889.

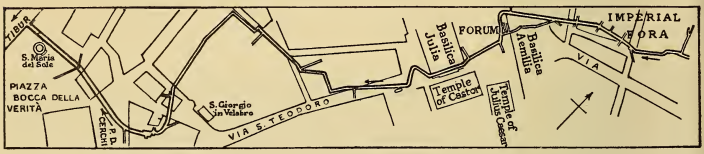
A common practice under the Empire was the canalization of rivers flowing through towns. At Pergamum the river Selinus was roofed for 200 yards by two parallel barrel vaults, each 30 feet wide, and a public building was erected across it.

Sewers can be traced in many provincial cities, best perhaps at Trèves, where a complete network has been proved to underlie the rectangular street plan. The main sewer of Arles, nearly 12 feet in height and width, challenges comparison with that of Rome. Even frontier forts had a well-planned system of underground drainage channels; at Housesteads on the Northumbrian Wall the latrines were placed at the lowest level, and there was a double provision for flushing them by surface water led to the spot in open channels and by larger discharges from storage tanks.

For public entertainments Rome adopted several types of building that had long been used in the Greek world: the open-air theatre for dramatic performances, the odeum or covered theatre for concerts, and the hippodrome (in Latin, "circus") for chariot racing. The stadium for foot-races and what we call "track athletics" was introduced at Rome, but was not a prominent feature in other cities. To these was added a new type, which has left more conspicuous ruins, the amphitheatre for combats of gladiators and shows of wild beasts.

The traditions of the Great Racecourse at Rome went back to the days of Tarquin. The Romans copied the Greek hippodrome, which was used for a variety of riding and driving contests, chose the most sensational of them, the race for four-horse chariots, and elaborated it into a national sport. In the course of centuries this racecourse in the hollow between the Palatine and Aventine hills was enlarged until it seated 180,000. It was at first a timber structure, and even after Trajan's rebuilding (A.D. 104) the upper galleries were still of wood; we hear of more than one collapse costing thousands of lives.

In early times gladiators and wild beasts were exhibited in the circus, and the memory of this custom survived in the name *ludi circenses,* "circus games," which included all such shows. For these entertainments of purely Italian origin there was evolved a new type of building, first of wood, then a shell of masonry with wooden seats, finally of stone throughout. The little town of Pompeii, refounded as a colony by Sulla in 80 B.C., was provided then, or soon after, with a stone amphitheatre. At Rome



ROME'S EARLIEST AND MOST USEFUL PUBLIC WORK

Rome was served by an elaborate system of sewers, of which the most famous is the Cloaca Maxima. Tradition says that it was built under the Kings to drain the low-lying district of the Forum, and this may well be so as far as the side walls are concerned; probably, however, it was not vaulted over until much later, having originally been an open gully.

After 'Antike Denkmäler'

a similar building was constructed by a friend of Augustus in 29 B.C., and lasted until the Great Fire, A.D. 64. The passion for such shows was now deep-rooted, and Vespasian gained popularity by demolishing Nero's Golden Palace and erecting on its site the gigantic Flavian Amphitheatre, afterwards nicknamed the Colosseum.

The building itself and the paved area in which it stood were elliptical. The arena measured 282 feet by 177 feet, the whole building 615 feet by 512 feet. The height of its outer face was 159 feet, divided into four storeys, of which all but the topmost were composed of open arcades, eighty in number on each tier. Within the arcades are corridors from which staircases lead to all parts of the interior. The principal ranges of seats were of marble, long since stripped away, the uppermost of wood. Subways and shafts beneath the arena facilitated the production of all kinds of scenic effects. Cages containing wild beasts could be wheeled through these passages to any part of the arena and hoisted through a trap-door. In the amphitheatre of Puteoli, where the basement of the arena has been carefully excavated, there were forty-six such trap-doors and two tiers of small chambers in which caged animals were kept ready.

For the days of public games enthusiasts came long distances; hence provincial amphitheaters, mostly accessible by sea or river, were built to serve a district, not a single city. The largest of them, as at Carthage, Tarraco in Spain, and Corinth, were at seaports. An exception is the great amphitheatre of El-Djem, which stands inland in a fertile district south of Carthage. Thysdrus, the town it served, was not a large one; clearly the spectators have come from towns and villages round about the neighborhood.

New cities in the West were laid out on a rigid plan, with a rectangular network of streets enclosing blocks of uniform size, and the main streets were bordered by covered walks. The centre of civic life was the Forum, a spacious piazza which adjoined a main street but was not crossed by any thoroughfare. About it were grouped the principal temples, the basilica or public hall, serving both as law court and place for meetings, the offices of local magistrates and perhaps a public library. Such part of the square as was not flanked by these buildings was enclosed by colonnades, often two-storeyed, with shops or offices in the shade behind them.

SANITATION IN A MILITARY POST

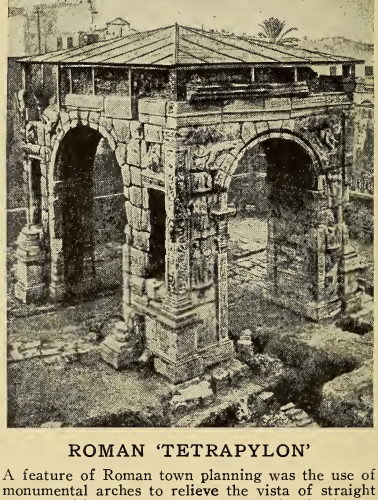
The Roman genius for sanitation was carried throughout the Empire. This excavation of the fort at Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland shows the latrines (right), which were flushed by surface water conducted along the open stone channels, and also by a discharge from the storage tank on the left.

Photo, F. Gerald Simpson

In earlier days the Forum had been used as a market. In the imperial age it was increasingly devoted to politics, law and finance, and quarters were found elsewhere for retail traders. Provision dealers were housed in a separate market hall, called the Macellum, which often took the form of a courtyard surrounded by

covered shops with a picturesque fountain in the centre, around which the fishmongers had their stalls. Other trades congregated in special streets, as in Eastern bazaars today.

In the Near East Rome was the successor of older empires, yet in the remains of its cities Roman work predominates. The regular planning of Antioch, the capital of Syria, may have been the work of Greek rulers, but it gained in extent and magnificence under Roman rule. The marble pavement and colonnades of its main boulevard were the gift of Herod the Great. The splendor of his new temple at Jerusalem was equalled by that of his palace which stood beside it, raised on substructures like those which wealthy Romans loved to build. His liberality, extended to many cities outside Palestine, set an example for others. When Agrippa visited Jerusalem and travelled through the eastern provinces in Herod's company, each of these great builders must have learned from and stimulated the other.



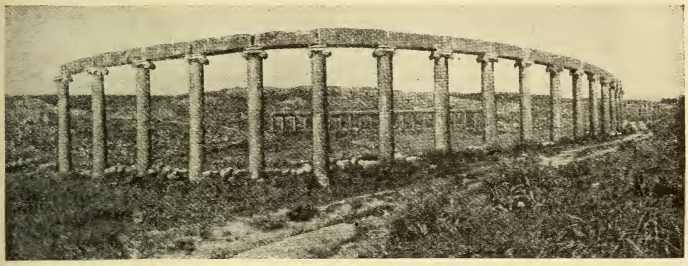
ROMAN 'TETRAPYLON'

A feature of Roman town planning was the use of monumental arches to relieve the vista of straight streets—either as gateways, or else in the 'tetrapylon' form where two streets crossed, as seen here at Tripoli (time of Marcus Aurelius).

Jerusalem lacked a port. Herod created a well-equipped artificial harbor and a city beside it which he named Caesarea in honor of Augustus. Unlike the older Hellenistic foundations it had an aqueduct and a system of sewers, in which we detect Roman influence. He rebuilt Samaria, naming it too after Augustus, and did much to beautify other towns of Palestine and Syria by the erection of town halls, theatres, racecourses and porticoes. It was in his day that the broadway (*platea*), a very striking feature of Alexandria, was copied in other eastern cities, whence the fashion spread throughout the Empire.

In towns where the market-place, hemmed in by historic buildings and crowded with memorials, was too small for the busy life of the new age, the making or widening of arterial main streets relieved the congestion, for business was transferred to shops and offices in the new colonnades. An axial system of broadways was created even in old cities as, for instance, Damascus and Jerusalem. What we now call a "place" or "piazza"—both words are derived from "platea"—was a square or round expansion of the street at a busy spot where it crossed another or approached a city gate or a port.

The abundance of Roman remains in Asia Minor, Syria and North Africa does not prove that they were more populous than the European provinces, where visible remains are few. The contrast is explained by the history of the two areas. Peace and industry, the incessant building and rebuilding that go with them, are more destructive than war and barbarism. Here and there in Europe a jewel of architecture—the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, for example, or the temple at Evora in Portugal—has escaped the forces of progress. But in Africa and Asia the abiding desolation caused by Moslem conquest has embalmed whole towns and countrysides. The Arabs purloined columns and capitals for their mosques—one at



SPLENDID CLOSE TO AN URBAN PROSPECT

Vista planning was much practised in the Graeco-Roman towns of the Near East, as may be seen from this photograph of Jerash, the ancient Gerasa, in the mountains on the east side of Jordan. A column-lined broadway or 'platea' terminated in a Forum, which was contained within this great semicircle of Ionic columns connected by an entablature of massive construction.

Photo, Capt. C. Fenwick-Owen

Kairwan alone contains over four hundred shafts of marble and granite and porphyry from Roman towns on the coast—but spared a multitude of arches, temples and monumental tombs, as well as the waterworks and farmhouses that show the former extent of cultivation. In Asia Minor, centuries of quarrying have only mutilated, not destroyed, the inheritance of ancient monuments.

But the decay of public works did not mean total loss of all Rome had taught. The handicrafts lived on, and with them the better tools that the free intercourse of the Empire had diffused to its farthest bounds. Not only in the Romance languages but in Welsh, Flemish and German the vocabulary of the building arts is largely Latin. The traveller may still notice a contrast between the old Roman territory on the left bank of the Rhine and the barbarian districts on the right: on one side straight roads and rectangular fields with compact stone villages; on the other, winding roads, irregular enclosures and straggling half-timbered houses.

LATER GREEK SCIENCE

THE LAST CONTRIBUTIONS OF HELLENIC GENIUS TO ORIGINAL THOUGHT BEFORE THE ONSET OF THE DARK AGES

CHARLES SINGER, M.D., D.Litt., D.Sc.

Professor of Medicine in the University of London; Author of 'Greek Biology and Greek Medicine,' 'From Magic to Science,' etc.

THE Athenian scientific school virtually ended with the generation after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. When Alexander died, his empire broke up. The different parts of it were seized by his generals. Egypt fell to Ptolemy I Soter, who founded a dynasty known as the Ptolemaic, that reigned nearly three hundred years. These Ptolemaic sovereigns were an exceedingly able and intelligent group of men and women who took much interest in science. The first of the line established the tradition of learning and the second founded a library and museum at Alexandria. This city now became the centre of the scientific world. Learned men flocked to it and were supported by funds provided by the Ptolemaic rulers.

The School at Alexandria continued until A.D. 640, when the city was taken by the Arabs. About 100 B.C., however, it had begun to languish, and by A.D. 200 was in full decay. Nevertheless, the scientific spirit at Alexandria showed spasmodic activity as late as A.D. 400; but from then, for the last two and a half centuries of its existence, it may be described as moribund. The frequently-told story of the Mahomedan invaders having burnt the Library may be dismissed as altogether mythical.

FROM 300 B.C. to A.D. 200, when ancient science fell into decay, most distinguished scientists were either teachers or pupils at Alexandria.

Among the first to be called to the Alexandrian Academy was the illustrious mathematician who bore the name of Euclid. We know next to nothing of his personality. He was probably trained at Athens by a pupil of Plato, and he is said to have been an unpretending man of gentle temper. His work "The Elements of Geometry" has come down to us intact and has very largely determined all subsequent mathematical teaching.

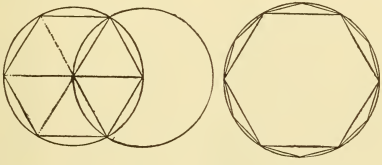
BEFORE Euclid it had been generally agreed to restrict the discussion of plane geometry to the straight line and the circle. The properties of the right-angled triangle, together with the doctrine of proportion for both commensurables and incommensurables, had already been investigated. Some of the properties of the conic sections were known, as were also the five possible regular solid figures, that is to say, figures with equal sides and equal angles, which are sometimes called the "Platonic bodies." The solution of such problems in solid geometry as the relation between the volume of a cone or pyramid and that of the prism or cylinder circumscribed around it had been attained. Despite such discoveries and the systematic exposition of them, and despite the great mathematical activity that they imply, there can be no doubt that Euclid achieved great advances. His treatise displaced all that had gone before it and rapidly attained the position which it has since held.

Among the mathematical achievements of Euclid we may specially refer to his attempts to express areas bounded by curved lines in terms of figures bounded by straight lines. The simplest expression of this attempt is called "squaring the circle," a problem to which he gave great attention. His attempts represent the first application of the idea of "limits."

The principle of the doctrine of limits can be simply presented. A regular six-sided figure can be built up from six equilateral triangles. Such a figure can be inscribed within a circle by the simple application of the first proposition of the first book of Euclid (*see* diagram below).

Now, it is obvious (a) that the sum of the six sides of this hexagon is less than

the circumference of the circle within which it is inscribed; and (b) that the area of this hexagon is less than the area of the circle. Moreover, it is evident that the difference is considerable in each case. If we double the number of sides and make it a twelve-sided figure, as we may easily do, then the statements (a) and (b) will still be true, but the difference will now be in each instance smaller. We can go on doubling the number of sides to 24, 48, 96, 192, or to any higher number. The more we increase the number of sides, the more nearly will the inscribed figure come to the circle, so that "in the limit," when its sides are so small as to be no more than points, it may be conceived of as becoming the circle. Euclid clearly realized that this limit can never actually be reached, but that it can be approached as nearly as we wish.



EUCLID'S DOCTRINE OF LIMITS

A hexagon, inscribed within a circle by the method on the left, will be smaller in area and perimeter. But if the number of sides are doubled (right) the difference will be less. By doubling 'ad infinitum' the inscribed figure will ultimately approximate in both respects to the circle.

Aristarchus of Samos (about 310-230 B.C.) extended the view of Heracleides that the earth rotates about its own axis, and that the sun itself is at rest and that not only Mercury and Venus, but that also all the other planets, of which the earth is one, revolve in circles round the sun. In addition to this doctrine we owe to Aristarchus the first scientific attempt to measure the relative distances of the sun and moon from the earth and their sizes relative to each other.

Contemporary with Aristarchus at Alexandria were the astronomers Aristyllus and Timocharis. They were the first to record the positions of stars by means of numerical measurements of their distances from fixed positions in the sky. Thus they fixed the position of the more important stars in the signs of the zodiac near to which all the planets in their orbits pass. Thereby they facilitated the accurate observation and record of the movements of the planets. Their observations were used by later astronomers such as Hipparchus and Ptolemy and their contemporaries.

It was at Alexandria that anatomy and physiology first became recognized disciplines. The earliest biological teacher of the school of Alexandria was Herophilus of Chalcedon, about 300 B.C. He was the first to dissect the human body publicly. In describing the anatomy of Man he compared it to that of animals. He recognized the brain as the centre of the nervous system, and he regarded it as the seat of the intelligence. There are several parts of the brain which still bear the names which Herophilus gave them. Another of his achievements was the first clear distinction between arteries and veins.

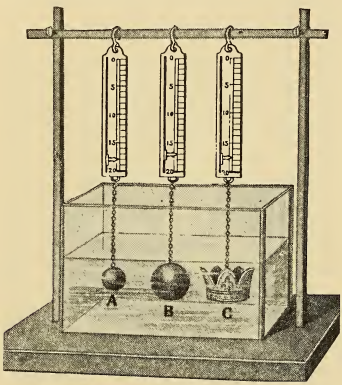
Contemporary with the anatomist Herophilus was the physiologist Erasistratus of Chios (c. 280 B.C.), who also taught at Alexandria.

Erasistratus, like Herophilus, paid particular attention to the brain. He distinguished between the main brain, or cerebrum, and the lesser brain, or cerebellum. He observed the convolutions in the brain of both Man and animals, and associated their greater complexity in Man with his higher intelligence. He made a number of experiments on animals, and these experiments led him to distinguish between the anterior nerve-roots of the spinal cord, which convey the impulse to motion to the muscles, and the posterior roots, which convey the impressions, some of which are felt as sensations, from the surface of the body. This discovery of Erasistratus was forgotten or neglected till the nineteenth century had dawned.

Archimedes (287-212 B.C.) of Syracuse was the greatest mathematician of antiquity, and one of the greatest of all time. Born in 287 B.C., himself the son of an astronomer, he was on intimate terms with King Hiero of Syracuse and his son Gelo. He visited Egypt, where

he studied with the successors of Euclid. The life of Archimedes was entirely devoted to scientific pursuits.

The most famous instance of the application of the knowledge of Archimedes to practical affairs is preserved for us by Vitruvius, a Roman writer on architecture. The story is best told in a translation of the actual words:



ARCHIMEDES' PRACTICAL GENIUS

The words of Vitruvius quoted on the right are made clear by this diagram. A and B are the gold and silver equivalents respectively of the crown when weighed in air; C is the crown. Archimedes measured the water displaced; this method weighs it, which comes to the same thing.

Archimedes made many wonderful discoveries, but one especially exhibits vast ingenuity. Hiero, on gaining royal power in Syracuse, vowed to devote a golden crown to the gods. He contracted a fixed price for making it and weighed out a precise amount of gold for the purpose. The contractor duly delivered an exquisitely finished piece of handiwork, corresponding exactly in weight to the gold supplied.

Afterwards, however, a charge was made that gold had been abstracted and an equivalent weight of silver added during the manufacture. Hiero, not knowing how to detect the theft, requested Archimedes to consider it. While the matter was on his mind, Archimedes happened to go to the bath. On getting into it, he observed that, as the more of his body was immersed, so the more water ran out over the top. This suggested the solution. Transported with joy, he leapt from the bath and rushed home naked, crying as he went, "Eureka! eureka!" ("I have found it, I have found it!").

He then made two masses of the same weight as the crown, one of gold, the other silver. Next he filled a vessel with water to the brim and dropped the mass of silver into it. As much water ran out as was equal in bulk to the silver. This overflow when measured gave the quantity of water corresponding to the mass of silver. He did likewise with the gold, and found that a smaller quantity of water corresponded to it, as much less, in fact, as the mass of gold was less in bulk than the silver. Finally, filling the vessel again, and dropping the crown itself therein, he found that more water ran over than for the mass of gold of like weight. Reasoning from this, he detected the mixing of silver with the gold, and this made the theft of the contractor perfectly clear.

A well-known appliance also involving a problem in hydrostatics is associated with the name of Archimedes to this day, as mentioned above. It is the Screw of Archimedes, a device for raising water. It is said that Archimedes discovered it during a visit to Egypt, and the device is still in wide use in that country.

Perhaps the earliest work of Archimedes that we have is the first book "On Plane Equilibriums," in which the fundamental principles of mechanics are demonstrated by rigorous geometric proofs. Among his mathematical achievements a very high place must be given to his methods of measuring the areas of curved surfaces in general and of conic sections in particular.

In his treatise "On Floating Bodies" Archimedes set forth some of the fundamental principles of hydrostatics, and includes the law of specific gravity, and in "The Measurement of a Circle" Archimedes finds an approximate value for the very important ratio between the circumference and the diameter of a circle, the element known to modern mathematicians as π. This he gives as between $3\frac{10}{70}$ and $3\frac{10}{71}$. He later arrived at an even more accurate estimate.

Finally, we may mention the remarkable system used by Archimedes for expressing very large numbers. So efficient is this system that it enables any number to be expressed, up to that which, in our notation, would require eighty thousand million million ciphers. Archimedes ex-

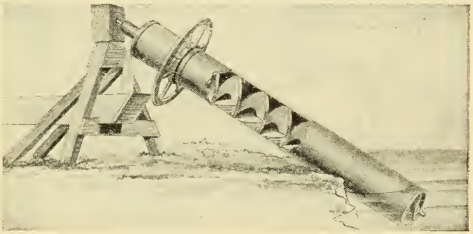
presses the opinion that his system was adequate to express the number of grains of sand that it would take to fill the universe! He, therefore, calls his work "The Sand Reckoner." From his calculation of the size of the universe we get our idea of his cosmic conceptions. We learn that he derived from Aristarchus a belief in a heliocentric universe, with the earth revolving in a comparatively unimportant orbit. Nevertheless, the cosmic calculations of Archimedes lack the rigid argument of his mathematical and mechanical works.

Archimedes was the effective founder of scientific mechanics. There were others who followed in his footsteps, and of those we may take as typical the ingenious and voluminous writer, Hero of Alexandria, who probably flourished about 100 B.C. Hero applied himself to practical matters, and to the entertainment of his readers, by the invention of ingenious toys, rather than to philosophical mathematics and astronomy as did Archimedes.

In antiquity as in modern times a large part of the ingenuity of scientists was devoted to the science of war. Hero was the author of a work on war engines in which he describes the "catapulta" or "palintonon" (literally, "backstretched"), a weapon capable of hurling huge stones or balls, and suitable for siege purposes.

Hero also devoted much attention to surveying, and in one of his books he describes the forms of instruments in use for the purpose. One of these was the "dioptra," which was most elaborately constructed and served many of the purposes for which surveyors now use the theodolite. He was particularly ingenious in his use of water levels. In his work "On Mechanics," which is lost in Greek but has luckily come down to us in a translation from the Arabic, he shows full apprehension of the uses of cogwheels; of the rack and pinion; of the use of multiple pulleys; of the transmission of force from a rotating screw to an axis at right angles to it; and of the combination of all these devices with levers. Moreover, he sets forth many of the devices nowadays familiar to architects, builders and masons.

We may now turn to the department of optics, in which the ancients took a special interest. The oldest treatise on the mathematical aspect of the subject is by Euclid. He considered that light moves in straight lines. Like nearly all the ancients, and following Plato, he holds that an essential factor in vision was something that proceeds from the eye. This view is quite different from the modern conception, that objects are seen only as the result of light waves from the object which impinge on our eyes.



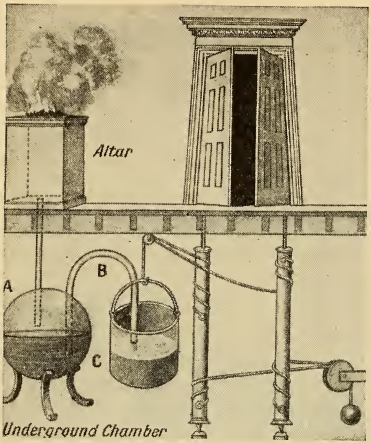
THE SCREW OF ARCHIMEDES

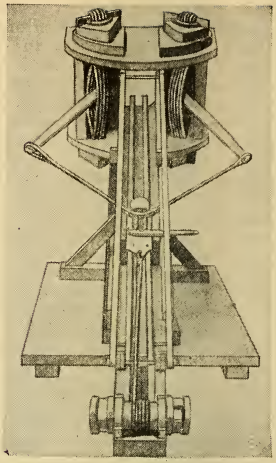
A helical flange, if revolved inside a sloping cylinder whose end dips below the water, will clearly propel water upwards just as a wood drill ejects the sawdust that it produces. This is the method, in use today in Egypt, that Archimedes evolved.

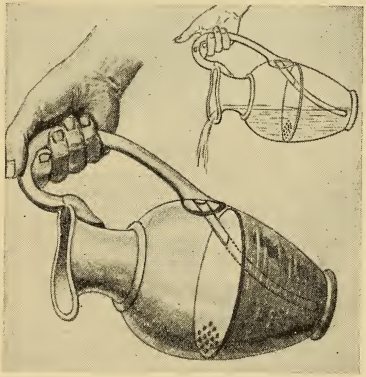
After Hart, 'Makers of Science'

Hero of Alexandria advanced the knowledge of optics from the experimental side. He showed that light is reflected from a surface at an angle equal to the angle of incidence. His dioptra, to which we have already referred, depended for its working on the equality of these angles.

A beginning was made by the Greeks of the scientific study of refraction—that is, of the behavior of light in passing from one medium into another of differing density, as, for example, from air into glass or water. Cleomedes, who lived in the first century A.D., referred to the bent appearance of rods when partially immersed in water, and he knew that an object, lying in an opaque basin and just obscured by the brim, could be rendered







HERO'S INVENTIVE INGENUITY

(Top left). Device for opening temple doors by lighting a fire on the altar. Hot air in the hollow altar expands into vessel A and drives water through siphon B into bucket C, which descends and rotates cylinders attached to doors. (Lower left). The magic jar. Water will flow only when air is admitted into the inner compartment by removing thumb from the hole in the handle. (Right). The 'catapulta,' designed for siege purposes.

After the Teubner edition of Hero's works

visible by pouring in water. He applied this principle to the atmosphere, and suggested that the sun, even when below the horizon, might be visible under certain circumstances. It is somewhat remarkable that he failed to give a practical application to this view of atmospheric refraction, for he disbelieves statements of his predecessors that in certain lunar eclipses the sun seems to be still above the horizon while the eclipsed moon rises in the east.

The best-known of the early writers on optics was Ptolemy. He not only knew that luminous rays in passing from one medium to another are deflected, but he also attempted, with some degree of success, to measure the angle of deflection.

In their zeal for learning, the Ptolemies did not forget geography. Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-222 B.C.) rendered the greatest service to geography by his encouragement of Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 276 to c. 194 B.C.), who is held to have been the first student to devote himself to the mathematical aspects of the subject. Eratosthenes became chief librarian at Alexandria, and was perhaps the most learned man of antiquity. It may be said that he laid the foundation of that important science of today, mathematical geography.

THE most important investigation of Eratosthenes is his measurement of the globe of the earth. After having determined its dimensions, he proceeded to consider the portion of it that was geographically known. Here, in common with all ancient geographers, he fell into a curious error, or rather, self-imposed limitation. Eratosthenes regarded the habitable world as a definite portion of the earth's surface, placed wholly within the northern hemisphere and forming only about a third of that. Erathosthenes' determinations of the positions of many places based on his system of parallels and lines of longitude are sufficiently accurate for a recognizable map to be constructed for the neighborhood of the Mediterranean.

Such a map was not, however, constructed by Eratosthenes himself. Hipparchus the astronomer (c. 150 B.C.) was the first clearly to form the conception of a map of the earth's surface. This idea was afterwards put into practice by Strabo and by Ptolemy. The determinations of latitude and longitude made by Hipparchus helped to make this achievement possible.

Between Eratosthenes and Strabo there were a number of explorers, merchants, military officers and geographical writers who made the work of Ptolemy possible. We can but glance at one or two of them.

Just as the conquests of Alexander had opened up the East to science, so did the advance of the Roman Empire open up the West. The first writer to avail himself of this new knowledge was the historian Polybius (204-122 B.C.). Polybius was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C., and was employed by Scipio to explore the coasts of Africa. He also visited Gaul and Spain. His descriptions, particularly of Spain, are very accurate, and he even attempts an estimation of the length of the Tagus. He has much valuable information about the Alps, and his knowledge of the geography of Italy was superior to that of any of his predecessors.

During the second and first century B.C. improved accounts of the Red, Black and Mediterranean Seas, and the countries bounding them, began to be available for students. Determinations, even of points in India, were attempted.

ROMAN wars and military expeditions, both in the East and in the West, opened up the world still more. Thus Strabo of Amasia in Pontus (born c. 63 B.C.) had plenty of material to work upon when he began his general survey of the world.

Strabo was a considerable traveller, and

THE WORLD ERATOSTHENES KNEW

The determination of parallels and longitudes undertaken by Eratosthenes he never incorporated in a map; but by following his figures a recognizable map of the eastern hemisphere can be made. His fundamental parallel passes through Gibraltar and Rhodes, and longitude through Alexandria and Syene.

tells us that he had "journeyed westward to the part of Etruria opposite Sardinia and southward from the Euxine (i.e. the Black Sea) to the borders of Ethiopia. Perhaps not one of those who have written geographies has visited more places than I have within these limits." It is, however, mainly as a systematic compiler of the knowledge of the world available to the geographer in his time that he is important.

ONE interesting feature of Strabo's work is his account of how a map of the habitable world should be made. This, he points out, is not difficult upon an actual globe, but such a globe needs to be very large to enable details to be inserted. We must, therefore, reduce such

a map to a plane surface; in other words, we must adopt some system of what we now call "projection." He, consequently, proceeds to consider the countries which he describes as though represented on a flat surface.

Many of the distortions in Strabo's account of the world are due to erroneous projection. His best accounts are those of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, where his method of projection distorts the least. As he gets farther from the Mediterranean, his errors become greater.

GREEK BOTANICAL DRAWING

The colored plates with which Crateuas (c. 150 B.C.) illustrated his botanical work are lost to us, but the manuscript of Dioscorides, made in A.D. 512 for Juliana Anicia, daughter of the Emperor Olybrius, contains what are almost certainly direct copies. Above is a plant of the peppermint class.

Austrian National Library, Vienna

The final geographical synthesis of antiquity was the work of Claudius Ptolemaeus, usually spoken of as Ptolemy, who died about A.D. 180. He must not be confused with the kings of the same name. Ptolemy worked at Alexandria, and was no less important as a geographer than as an astronomer. Though he wrote in Greek, he worked on itineraries of Roman officials and merchants and other prominent men of the time.

Ptolemy developed his own manner of representing the curved surface of the earth on a plane surface. In his scheme of projection the parallels of latitude are arcs of concentric circles, the centers of which are at the North Pole. Chief among the parallels are the equator and circles passing respectively through Thule, through Rhodes and through Meroë. The meridians of longitude are represented by straight lines which converge to the Pole.

In this manner Ptolemy delineates the whole of the then known world, and the limits that he sets give a clear idea of the range of geographical vision in Imperial Roman times.

A LINK between the Athenian and Alexandrian schools was the long-lived Theophrastus (372-287 B.C.), who was himself, on the one hand, the pupil of Aristotle and, on the other, a contemporary of the first generation of Alexandrian biologists. Ancient science suffered from lack of a scientific terminology. This defect was felt acutely by Theophrastus, and he attempted to remedy it in his own chosen department, that of botany. He did not rely, as we do, for his terminology on an ancient and classical language, but sought rather to give a special technical meaning to words in current use. Among such words are "carpos," fruit, and "pericarpion," seed vessel. It is from Theophrastus that the botanical definition of fruit and of pericarp has come down to us.

It is very interesting to observe that Theophrastus makes a clear and exact distinction between monocotyledons and dicotyledons. Interesting, too, is his attempted distinction of sex in plants, an attempt which is successful only in the case of the palms. In that group, as Herodotus tells us, the ancient Babylonians had the same idea.

It is unfortunate that the biological works of the Alexandrian school have almost entirely disappeared, save for the small fragments of the works of Herophilus and Erasistratus. In the last pre-Christian and the first two post-Christian centuries, however, there were several writers of biological importance whose works have survived.

FOREMOST among these we should place Crateuas, who introduced the systematic representation of plants by figures rather than by description. This method, important still, was a most significant innovation at a time when there was no proper system of botanical nomenclature. Copies of figures by Crateuas have actually come down to us. They are of absorbing interest as the earliest specimens of scientific draughtsmanship that have been preserved.

The first Christian century brings us a writer who, while scientifically inconsiderable, is important as the main carrier of such tradition of Greek biology as reached the Middle Ages—Dioscorides (lived c. A.D. 60). He was an army surgeon who served in Asia Minor, and wrote a work on drugs which consists of short accounts of plants arranged almost without reference to the nature of the plants themselves. This elaborate pharmacopoeia was early illustrated in the style of Crateuas, and many fine copies of these figures have come down to us.

CRATEUAS AND DIOSCORIDES

The Juliana Anicia manuscript (see picture below) contains a drawing of Crateuas executing one of his plates from Nature. The plant, however, is a preposterous mandragora and Dioscorides (A.D. 60) is actually shown as his master.

It provided most of the little botanical knowledge that reached the Middle Ages, and furnished the chief stimulus to botanical research at the time of the Renaissance. It has decided the general form of every modern pharmacopoeia, and has determined a large part of modern plant nomenclature, both popular and scientific.

THE greatest biological and medical synthesis of antiquity was made by Galen (A.D. 131-201). This remarkable man was born at Pergamum, which had once been the rival of Alexandria as a seat of learning. After studying at various centers, Galen stayed for a time at Alexandria, where he had the opportunity of examining a human skeleton. Later he proceeded to Rome, where almost the whole of his active life was cast. He was immensely successful as a practitioner and was the personal attendant of three emperors.

In the Galenic philosophy the basic principle of life was a spirit, or "pneuma," drawn from the world-spirit in the act of breathing. It entered the body through the "trachea arteria" (windpipe), and so passed to the lung and thence through the "vein-like artery," which we now call the pulmonary vein, to the left ventricle, where it encountered the blood. But what was the origin of the blood? To this his answer was ingenious, but the errors that it involved remained till the seventeenth century.

Galen believed that chyle, brought from the alimentary tract by the portal vessel, arrived at the liver. That organ, he considered, had the power of elaborating the chyle into venous blood, and of imbuing it with a particular spirit, or pneuma, innate in all living substance so long as it remains alive. This pneuma was spoken of as the "natural spirit." Charged with natural spirit derived from the liver, and with nutritive material derived from the intestines, the blood, Galen believed, was distributed by the liver throughout the venous system which arises from it, ebbing and flowing in the veins. One great main branch of the venous system was the right side of the heart.

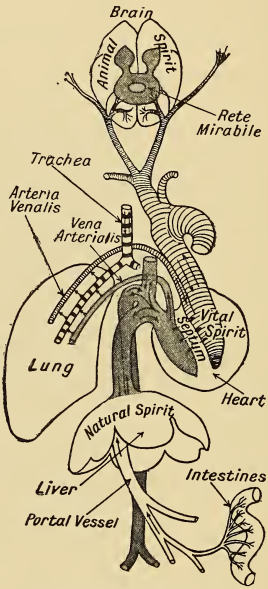
The whole knowledge possessed by the

world in the department of physiology from the third to the seventeenth century, nearly all the biological conceptions till the thirteenth, and most of the anatomy and much of the botany until the sixteenth century, all the ideas of the physical structure of living things throughout the Middle Ages, were contained in a small number of these works of Galen.

The biological works of both Aristotle and Theophrastus lingered precariously in a few rare manuscripts in the monasteries of the East; the total output of hundreds of years of Alexandrian and Pergamene activities was utterly destroyed; the Ionian biological works, of which a sample has by a miracle survived, were forgotten; but these vast, windy, ill-arranged treatises of Galen lingered on. Translated into Latin, Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew, they saturated the intellectual world of the Middle Ages. Commented on by later Greek writers, who were in turn translated into the same list of languages, they were yet again served up under the names of other Greek writers.

As a result of the great mathematical activity, a development of astronomical theory became possible to the Alexandrians. The consequences of the supposed rotation of the celestial sphere and of the movements of the heavenly bodies were developed along mathematical lines in a number of textbooks. Thus arose a nomenclature, parts of which have survived to our day, but parts of which have been modified by the Arabian and other authors through whose hands the Greek mathematical works have passed.

The greatest astronomer of antiquity was Hipparchus of Nicaea. He was active from 161 to 130 B.C. in Rhodes, where he erected an observatory and made most important researches. Hipparchus greatly developed the study of trigonometry. By means of this science it is possible to apply numerical calculations to figures drawn on either a plane or a spherical surface. The application of this process to astronomy is evident. Hipparchus not only made a great number of accurate astronomical observations, but also collected and collated a number of records of previous observers to see if he could discover any astronomical changes that might have taken place in the course of the ages. These previous observations on which he was able to work were extended beyond those of the Alexandrians and earlier Greeks, and included the yet earlier records of the Babylonian astronomers.

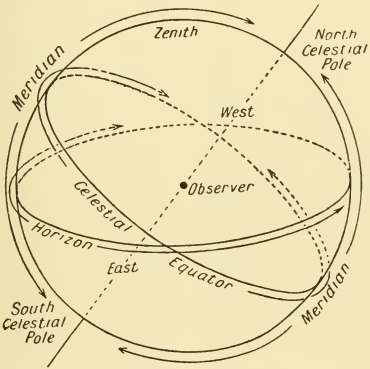


GALEN'S PHYSIOLOGY

A description of this figure, which illustrates the physiological theories worked out by Galen and perpetuated through the Middle Ages, is given in the text in this page.

HIPPARCHUS gave the world two brilliant astronomical conceptions. One of these, the precession of the equinoxes, was of permanent value. The other, his theory of the movements of the sun and moon, was of value in subsequent generations for the calculation of eclipses. In 134 B.C. Hipparchus observed a new star in the constellation Scorpio. This suggested to him that he should prepare a new catalogue of stars, giving their position. He thus drew up a list of upwards of a thousand stars, each of which was given its celestial latitude and longitude. The constellations to which Happarchus referred these stars are those which are today generally accepted. He showed great foresight in recording also a number of cases in which three or more stars were in

a line, so that he might enable later astronomers to detect changes in their relative positions. Hipparchus proceeded to compare his observations with those that had been made by Timocharis and Aristyllus about 150 years earlier. He found that in this time there had been changes in the distance of the stars from the points of intersection of the circle of the ecliptic and the celestial equator—that is to say, the equinoctial points. The changes were of such an order that they could be explained only by a motion of the equinoctial points in the direction of the apparent daily motion of the stars. The knowledge of this precession of the equinoxes, and of the rate at which it takes place, was necessary for the progress of accurate astronomical observation. The appearance of this precession of the equinoxes is due to a slow revolution of the axis of the earth round the axis of the ecliptic. This revolution takes 26,000 years.



ELEMENTS OF GREEK ASTRONOMY

The astronomical scheme of the Alexandrian observers was worked out from a belief in the rotation of the 'heavenly spheres.' Though this is now discarded, the scheme, and much of its nomenclature, is still retained for convenience.

When Hipparchus came to examine the behavior of the planets he had before him two theories, namely, that of "eccentric motion" and that of "epicyclic motion." Certain of his predecessors had adopted the epicyclic view—that is to say, they held that each planet moved on a smaller circle the center of which itself moved upon the circumference of the greater circle at the center of which is the earth. Hipparchus inclined to the theory of eccentric motion—that is, that these planets moved in circles the centers of which were not the same as that of the earth. He developed this view with great skill in connexion with the sun and the moon, but was less successful with the other planets. As it happened, it was the epicyclic view that prevailed in antiquity, chiefly through the mediation of the astronomer Ptolemy.

The theory of the motion of the sun and the moon enunciated by Hipparchus was, however, of great service in one particular. Calculations based on it accorded more closely with actual observations than did calculations based on any older doctrine of their movements. Hipparchus was thus enabled to predict eclipses of the sun and moon more accurately than any of his predecessors. From the time of Hipparchus onward eclipses of the moon could be predicted within an hour or two and eclipses of the sun also, but less accurately.

No important name in the history of astronomy comes between Hipparchus and Ptolemy, who lived about the middle of the second century A.D. Ptolemy made the final synthesis of ancient astronomy. His important astronomical treatise is the source of the greater part of our knowledge of the results achieved by astronomers in ancient times.

A word must be said about the name, "Almagest," by which the great astronomical work of Ptolemy is always known. The chief manuscript of it carries the Greek title "megale syntaxis" (great composition). The Arabian translators—through whom it first became known to Europe—evidently altered "megale" (great) to the superlative form "megiste" (greatest). Hence it became known to the Arabs as "Al Magisti," which gave the Latin form "Almagestum" (the greatest composition).

The "Almagest" is a compendium of the

astronomy then known. It is based on the work of Ptolemy's predecessors, and especially on Hipparchus. It is valuable as a clear and comprehensive statement of ancient astronomy, and it represents almost the final astronomical statement until the sixteenth century. It fixed upon the Middle Ages the doctrine of the central fixed spherical earth and the conception of the concentric spheres surrounding it, in which the planets moved in epicycles. The astronomical views of Ptolemy were those with which the great reformers of astronomy, beginning with Copernicus and coming down to recent times, were called upon to contend.

We have now to consider the latter end of Greek science, and we cannot do so without considering astrology, the shadow of which astronomy is the substance. Believing, as the ancients did, that the earth was the center of the universe, it was but natural that they should also believe that the surrounding spheres influenced the surrounded body. In this sense even Aristotle is an astrologer. But over and beyond this general conception, there was developed in antiquity the conception that each of the heavenly bodies, and notably the signs of the zodiac and the seven planets, had an influence upon the earth, and especially upon the life of Man.

The important philosophical and religious sect of imperial times was that of the Stoics. To it most educated Romans and Greeks of the higher class adhered. One of our best expositions of the Stoic philosophy is by the hand of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and was written in Greek. The creed made a special appeal to the Roman mind. Stoicism seized on the astrological conception, which aided in the understanding of a determinate universe. Astrology thus became an essential part of the Stoic outlook on life. It was against this outlook that Christianity firmly set its face. We see the opposition in St. Paul. When he says, "In him we live and move and have our being; as certain even of your own poets have said, 'For we also are his offspring,'" he is quoting the Greek astrological Stoic poet, Aratus of Soli (271-213 B.C.).

To the Church Fathers astrology was a thing utterly abhorrent, because it seemed to them a negation of the doctrine of free will that was so dear to them. But astronomy, dead as a science, existed now only linked with astrology. With the spread of Christianity and the disappearance of the Stoic philosophy the last remains of Greek science passed into the shade, not to return until the Arabian revival and the rise of the universities in the later Middle Ages.

THE RIVAL RELIGIONS

A STUDY OF THE EASTERN CULTS WITH WHICH CHRISTIANITY HAD TO COMPETE IN THE LATER DAYS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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In the conflict of religions within the Roman Empire, it was not Greece which won. Supreme in science and philosophy, the genius of the Hellenes had no creative force to mould the faith of the strange congeries of races which conquest, commerce and slavery scattered over all the coasts of the Mediterranean. The victory was won partly by creeds which came from the East, and partly by the stubborn local traditions which survive in Catholic Europe to this day. Greece, however, supplied the philosophy of the Christian religion, which, after Plotinus and Porphyry, had a more vigorous life within the Christian Church than in the schools of Athens. We must also remember that the syncretized religion which destroyed Graeco-Roman Paganism spoke and wrote in Greek.

Before Roman penetration, the barbarian cults of the West went down very easily. Latin was adopted everywhere, though more quickly in Spain than in Gaul, and the names of the gods were changed without much resistance. Even in Africa, where the Punic language lingered till the time of Augustine, Baal became Saturn. But the East had been only superficially Hellenized, and was never Romanized. The worships of the East not only held their own; they soon started on a career of conquest in the reverse direction to Alexander, and have left their traces to the shores of the Atlantic.

Nor is it difficult to answer the question why the Oriental religions spread westwards. The reason is that in religious matters the East was far more advanced than the West.

The time came when the emperors, and especially the most despotic of them, perceived the advantage of attaching the professional priesthood to their service; they openly showed favor to the creeds of the East, as they did later to Christianity. In this way the seeds of Caesaropapism slowly took root.

What were the chief attractions of the new cults? In the first place, they offered an assured hope of personal immortality, such as few of the old religions had ventured to assert. And in the second place, they brought with them a highly developed sacramentalism, which at this time, as at many other periods of history, made a very strong appeal to the religious instincts of educated and uneducated alike. The old legalistic notion of becoming "just before God" by the punctilious observance of the prescribed ritual gave no satisfaction to the conscience. What men and women now desired was to be purified from their sins, sometimes by the mechanical efficacy of lustrations, fastings and macerations, sometimes by the observance of holy discipline and self-denial.

Such practices and disciplines, together with solemn initiations into the secret "mysteries" of the cult, brought the soul into communion with the divine principle, and assured the votary that after death he would pass into a blessed state and win eternal "salvation." Asceticism came in like a flood, and abstinence from meat, wine and sexual gratification was preached as essential to the higher life. The character of the priesthood in Europe was transformed when the priests became spiritual directors, wholly absorbed in their sacred functions. They assumed a distinctive dress, and no longer mingled freely in society.

The mystery religions, as they may be called collectively, comprised every variety of cult, including some that were purely magical, and others that may have been indecent. But at their best they probably offered to their adherents a far more attractive ritual, a higher morality and sounder religious teaching than the old faiths of the Greeks and Romans.

Some of them had the prestige that is derived from unquestionable antiquity.

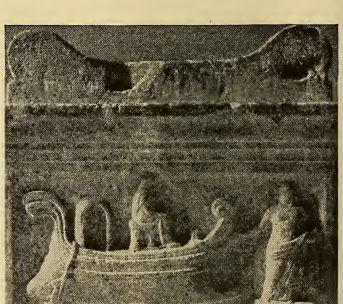
The great Eastern religions united primitive Nature myths with the dream world of the soul, attempts at science petrified at an early stage, and alliances with philosophy. All these were at last fused into a religious view of life, and this process was the result partly of the phase through which civilization was passing, and partly of the experiences of the inner life, which, so far from sharing in the decadence that was overtaking culture generally, had never before been studied so intimately.

Among the ideas which are most characteristic of these religions and philosophies we may enumerate the following. The soul or spirit comes "down" from some higher sphere. It belongs to the eternal spiritual world, whereas the body possesses a very inferior degree both of reality and of value. Changelessness and immortality are the attributes of the soul or spirit; mutability and dissolution are characteristics of the body. In some, though not all, of the cults the visible world is disparaged, and God is banished from it. The Godhead, as it is in itself, is unknowable, except in moments of mystic rapture.

"Matter," which the unphilosophical construed as the world of concrete perception, was regarded as a clog and impediment to the upward flight of the soul, and redemption came to be envisaged as a deliverance from the conditions of finite and particular existence. This redemption of the soul was always said to be attainable through a number of stages, representing a gradual emancipation of the soul from the allurements and entangling alliance of the senses. Progress, the hope of which had almost disappeared from the world outside, was still possible under the form of *introrsum ascendere* (rising within oneself).

The possibility of this inward ascent, even to the dazzling height of union with God, was guaranteed by the indwelling Spirit of the Deity, which transformed the human element into the divine. Lastly, the old connection of religion with patriotism and nationality was almost completely dissolved. The individual, the religious brotherhood and communion with God comprised the whole of the interest with which the mystery cults were concerned.

It will be convenient to consider singly the chief Oriental religions which invaded the Roman Empire at this period, following them back to the countries of their



HOMAGE TO ASIATIC DEITIES IN ROME

According to legend, the ship that brought the sacred black stone of Magna Mater from Pergamum in 204 B.C. grounded in the Tiber and resisted men's efforts to move her. A Vestal Virgin, however, fastening her belt to the ship, drew it quite easily to the Palatine. The story is illustrated on this altar (right) of the second to third century A.D. The altar relief (left) depicts Cybele in her lion-drawn chariot roaming the woods in search of Attis, who is hidden behind a pine tree.

Museo Campidoglio (from Rostovtzeff, 'Rome,' Clarendon Press) and Villa Albani, Rome (photo, Moscioni)

origin—Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria and Persia; after which something will be said of Judaism and early Christianity.

THE Great Mother of Pessinus and Mount Ida was not only the first invader, but nearly the last to be driven out. The history of her worship in Italy covers six centuries, and it still lived to excite the anger of Augustine.

Catullus describes the frenzy and repentance of Attis in a weirdly beautiful poem. In the Augustan age the Magna Mater Cybele—Great Mother Cybele—meets us in nearly all the poets. Under the Flavian emperors the cult spread all over the Empire, from Spain to Dacia. The "taurobolium," a baptism in bull's blood, was part of her worship, and became common before the end of the second century.

In itself the religion was syncretistic, partly Thracian, partly Phrygian. Attis was partially identified with Dionysus-Sabazius. The worship was wild and orgiastic; the votaries were excited to madness by various musical instruments and by their own shouts. They cut themselves with knives, and their priests mutilated themselves in a paroxysm of ecstasy.

By degrees the cult lost much of its savage and repulsive character. The death of Attis, and his restoration to life, became a dramatic representation of the death to sin and the new birth to righteousness; or, in a less ethical sense, the sacramental sign of salvation. Attis had been a moon god, who was invoked by farmers, and also came to be associated with the underworld of the dead. But as Sabazius he became a "supreme god," and his worship entered into close relations with the cult of Mithras. The effect of this sacrament was supposed to be "a new birth into eternal life," but it was supposed by some to be efficacious for twenty years only, after which the rite should be performed again.

At the same time, the idea of a religious brotherhood, cemented by sacraments, helped to humanize this as well as other mystery cults.

NEVERTHELESS, the mystery religion of Phrygia was fatally handicapped by its savage origins. The bath of blood, the eunuch priests and the dervish-like ritual were highly repulsive to all persons of refinement. In estimating the causes of the triumph of Christianity we must not forget the advantage which the new faith possessed in starting free from these embarrassing accessories.

The great temple of the Egyptian deities was the Serapeum of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy Soter, Alexander's general. Perhaps even before this Egyptian merchants had their temple to Isis in the Piraeus, and her worship rapidly

PRIEST OF ATTIS AND CYBELE

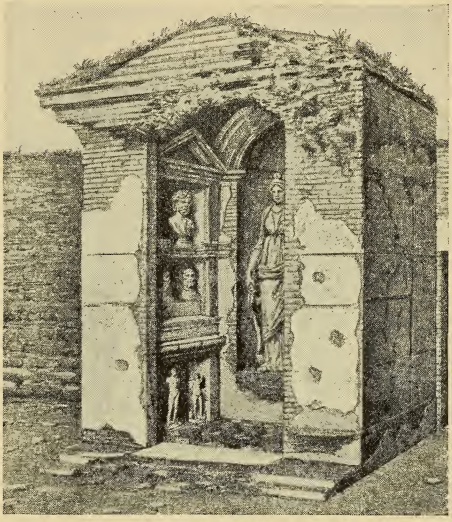
Wearing Oriental robes, with an image of Attis on his breast, this priest is holding a pomegranate, three twigs, a fir cone and fruits—symbols of fertility. Around him are ritual cymbals, tympanum or drum, flute, fife, scourage and cista or casket.

Palazzo dei Conservatori; photo, Moscioni

spread over the Greek world. The Greeks, who had traded and settled in Egypt long before the time of Herodotus, were quite convinced that the Egyptian gods were their own under other names. Isis was Demeter, Osiris Dionysus, and Horus Apollo. The Greek Orphics and Pythagoreans found the Egyptian religion congenial. The fusion of Greek and Egyptian creeds was naturally a matter of state policy with the Ptolemies. Serapis, a deity of doubtful origin, took the place of Osiris. The dog-faced Anubis was identified with Hermes, the conductor of souls. But Serapis and Isis were not content with this position. Both were elevated to be the supreme gods—Serapis

assuming the names and attributes of Jupiter and the sun; Isis, the character of the universal mother and creatress of the world.

From Sicily the cult spread to Italy in the first century before Christ. The Senate five times tried to expel Isis from Rome, but she always returned. In 50 B.C. the consul, unable to find a workman to lay hands on the shrine of the goddess, had to take the axe himself. Even the war against Cleopatra could not keep the gods of Egypt out of Rome, though Dion Cassius says that they were banished for a time beyond the "Pomerium"—the boundaries of the city.



ISIAC SHRINE IN ROME

Of all the pagan cults that of Isis was the most successful in maintaining itself against Christianity. In Rome it gained general popularity, and shrines of Isis were numerous. This chapel, found on the Esquiline in 1883, contained a statue of Isis in a niche at the back; other niches contained images of Lares.

Josephus mentions a moral scandal in a temple of Isis in the reign of Tiberius, which led to severe measures against the priests, but the emperor Otho openly took part in the cult. Commodus went in procession with a shaven head and the statue of Anubis in his arms. Lucan long before this, in Nero's reign, speaks of Isis as an object of world-wide worship. There is, indeed, no province of the Empire in which traces of the goddess of the Nile have not been found. She had many functions. She was the goddess of fertility, and the protectress of commerce and navigation. She was also the vision of the mystic as Apuleius, the Huysmans of antiquity, shows us in the deeply devotional chapter which concludes his novel, "The Metamorphoses."

In the Augustan age the shrines of Isis had an equivocal reputation. She was popular with the demimonde. But later on her worship seems to have been pure and was organized upon a plan very like that of the Catholic Church. There was a kind of pope, with white-robed shaven priests. The toilet of the "Madonna" was attended to every day. Daily matins and evensong were sung in her temples. There was a great festival in the autumn, at which the death of Osiris-Serapis was lamented, while there was rejoicing over his resurrection.

In Serapis, too, were united many attributes, including those of Aesculapius, the god of faith-healing. Caracalla paid him the compliment of dedicating to him the sword with which he had killed his brother Geta. But besides the attractions of a solemn and impressive ritual, the Egyptian worship had two other charms. Isis resembled the Catholic Madonna in being an indulgent motherly goddess, to whom all troubles might be confided. And this religion was very positive in holding out hopes of immortality.

Isis worship was weighted not only by the grotesque animal forms of the Egyptian gods, but by its connection with nearly all the superstitions of the age, especially with astrology. And the ele-

vated thoughts which Plutarch and others hang upon the images of Osiris and Isis were very easily detached when the Church offered them a better home. In 391 the patriarch of Alexander burnt the Serapeum to the ground, and thus destroyed "the very head of idolatry."

The worship of the "Syrian goddess," as she was often called without giving her a name, was far less important in the Roman Empire, in spite of the large number of Syrians who penetrated everywhere and especially to Rome, so that Juvenal complains that the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber. Her name was Atargatis and she was sometimes identified with the Phoenician Astarte. The Syrians themselves worshipped their Baals wherever they lived, but it does not seem probable that they contributed anything appreciable to the amalgam of faiths which left traces on the later religion of Europe.

Far more interesting is the influence of Persia. Mithras, the light god, was a parvenu in the Greek pantheon, as he was in the Greek world. And yet he became so important in the Roman Empire that Renan speculated on the possibility of the victory of his religion over that of Christ. The early Christian writers show no such anxiety, and the best opinion now is that the diffusion of the Persian worship in the Empire has been somewhat exaggerated, striking as it undoubtedly was.

But the Persians were a great nation, with a great religion, which, through Judaism, largely infected by Persian ideas, has left traces even upon Christianity. Zoroaster (Zarathustra) may have been a contemporary of Buddha and Confucius. He came forward as a reformer of the Magian religion, and to him is attributed the dualistic doctrine of an eternal conflict between the powers of light and darkness. Dualism is a philosophy which is never likely to be extinct. To the moralist especially life is an internecine battle between good and evil.

Mithraism began to be strong in the West only in the time of Commodus, who showed it favor. After this, it spread for a time very rapidly. It was the soldier's religion, being a manly creed, which laid stress on discipline and self-control. Next to the army, it was the Syrian traders and Oriental slaves who spread the worship of the Persian god. But in the third century it was for a short time the most fashionable and popular cult at Rome itself. The chief cause of this was that it fitted in well with autocracy and emperor worship, and also encouraged the sun worship which was increasingly congenial to the Romans at this time.

The myth of Mithras sounds to us absurd enough. He was "born from a rock," contended with the sun, overcame him, and then swore friendship. The first creation of Ahura-mazda had been a wild bull. Mithras held the bull by the horns and then carried him on his shoulders to a cave. The bull escaped, and was pursued and killed by Mithras. From his blood sprang corn and animals. Mithras cutting the bull's throat is the regular ornament of Mithraic shrines. The principal figures are surrounded by symbolic animals, with two youths bearing torches.

But the worship was not contemptible. Mithras was a mediator god, the judge of souls. The soul is immortal, and during earthly life is merely on probation. It came down from a heavenly abode, and must be purified from the stains which it has contracted before it can return thither. The means of purgation are partly ritual and partly the sedulous practice of the old Persian virtues of truthfulness and courage. The initiates into the mysteries, which were celebrated in a dark underground chapel with much impressive ceremony, passed through seven grades, with imposing titles like those of Freemasonry, and probably connected with the seven planets.

Although the cult was already declining before A.D. 300, Julian attempted to revive it.

The Christians were both puzzled and annoyed by the resemblance of the Mithraic religion to their own. Not only did Mithras have his high pontiff, his priests vowed to celibacy and his consecrated virgins, but there is to be a second coming of Mithras, preceded by great plagues. The dead will rise from their tombs to meet him. The sacred bull will be slain again, and the just will drink his blood, which will give them eternal life. Evil will be finally destroyed by fire from heaven. Finally, the Church paid Mithras the great compliment of annexing his chief

festival on December 25, the birthday of the "Invincible Sun," and turning it into the feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ. So we owe our Christmas, or at least its date, to the religion of Persia.

In the second and third centuries the religious condition of Rome must have presented a strange spectacle. Cumont writes:

> Let us suppose that in modern Europe the faithful had deserted the Christian churches to worship Allah and Brahma, to follow the precepts of Confucius and Buddha, or to adopt the maxims of the Shinto; let us imagine a great confusion of all the races of the world in which Arabian mullahs, Chinese scholars, Japanese bonzes, Tibetan lamas and Hindu pundits would be preaching fatalism and predestination, ancestor-worship and devotion to a deified sovereign, pessimism and deliverance through annihilation—a confusion in which all these priests would erect temples of exotic architecture in our cities and celebrate their diverse rites therein. Such a dream would offer a fairly accurate picture of the religious chaos of the ancient world before the reign of Constantine.

Nevertheless, the ancient religions, with the exception of Judaism and Christianity, did not anathematize each other as they would today; it mattered little, men thought, whether the Supreme Being were called Jupiter or Osiris or Mithras. A religion was disliked only if it seemed to be savage or unpatriotic.

Before passing from Oriental religion to Hellenistic philosophy, a few words must be said about the Gnostics, who seem to occupy a position intellectually half-way between religion and philosophy, and between East and West. The word "Gnosticism" is comparatively modern, and "Gnostic" is not found before the last half of the second century. But "Gnosis," in the sense of esoteric knowledge of divine things, plays a part in the controversies of the first century after Christ. Gnosticism is not the name of a sect; the orthodox Clement of Alexandria uses the word Gnostic to designate an enlightened Christian.

There was a "Gnosticism" before Christianity, and the Hermetic writings, in their original form, belonged to this pre-Christian movement. But the most eminent Gnostics were half Christians, their religion, or philosophy, being a queer amalgam of misunderstood Christianity with the cults which we have already mentioned. Their chief aim was that which we have found to be common to all the religious movements of the time—the deliverance of the soul from the defilements of the flesh, and salvation through union with the Divine nature. For them true history is the description of shadowy personifications in the unseen world—imaginary spiritual beings arranged in pairs, which to some extent took the place of the platonic "Ideas."

Jesus was one of the "Aeons," who, in the system of Valentinus, comes down to earth to rescue the truant Aeon "Sophia" (the personification of the divine attribute—Wisdom), and restore her to her home in Heaven. The worship of the Gnostics was ritualistic, with a strong infusion of magic. They are accused by Plotinus of despising this beautiful world, in which a truer philosophy finds everywhere the symbols and footprints of the Divine. This renunciation of the world was part of the rigid asceticism which was the path by which those who were capable of the higher life could rise above the gross beliefs and practices of the vulgar herd. The Catholics freely accused them of dissolute practices, a charge later brought against the Brethren of the Free Spirit in the Middle Ages. The accusation is circumstantial; but it was a scurrilous age, in which no fairness was shown when dealing with opponents.

Plotinus is far more moderate; he dislikes the Gnostics whom he had encountered at Rome partly because their teaching was a kind of caricature of his own, partly for the reason already mentioned, and perhaps, above all, because they treated with arrogant contempt the great Greek thinkers whom he revered.

In the space at my disposal I can say only a few words about another religion which was far more important than the cults of Isis and Mithras—I mean Judaism. The diffusion of the Jews all over the eastern half of the Empire had separated them from the sacrificial system of Jerusalem long before the destruction of the Temple by Titus. The synagogue was now the rallying-ground of the religion. They made many proselytes, partly perhaps because the Romans gave the Jews a privileged position, but largely because their religion was far superior to those of

the Pagans. There was a time when the Jews of the Dispersion were strongly Hellenized—we find proofs of this in Philo, and, indeed, in St. Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but after the first century this alliance was broken, and after the suppression of the last revolt, under Bar Kokhba, proselytizing seems almost to have ceased.

THE Jews were driven back upon themselves, and in rejecting Christianity they turned their backs upon Europe. Their intense hatred against the early Church was an instinctive recoil from a movement which, though it had originated in Palestine, threatened to merge their race and their religion in the congeries of peoples and beliefs which made up the Graeco-Roman Empire. Christianity, in accepting Hellenism, transformed and was transformed by it; Judaism rejected it, and remained obstinately Asiatic till the tide turned, and Asia once more took her revenge upon Europe.

It remains to consider the evolution of genuinely Greek thought during this period. Already in the Macedonian age there were Semitic influences at work in Stoicism.

SERAPIS ROMANIZED

In imperial times Serapis was frequently represented as a mature bearded man standing with hand upraised in benediction; invariably he has on his head the basket symbolizing plenty.

British Museum

BUT it is a mistake to regard the later Platonism as a fusion of Greek and Oriental ideas. Plotinus not only wished to be but was a true disciple of Plato, and if the coalescence of metaphysics and religion seems more complete in the thinker of the third century after Christ, we must remember that the earlier schools of Athens made the tendance of the soul a matter of central importance in all their philosophizing. They were not, like the Ionians who preceded them, primarily interested in the philosophy of natural science.

Plato himself hated system-making, and he is a pioneer of several divergent tendencies. On the whole, the development of his thought was a rehearsal of what was to happen to his school. The Pythagorean tendency, which is so apparent in the "Timaeus" with its mathematical and astronomical speculations, the growth of devoutness and solemnity, the increasing rigor with regard to ethics, particularly in sexual matters, and the withdrawal from current politics, all foreshadow the later history of Platonism. But there was a long period of barrenness between the earlier Stoics and Epicureans and the rise of neo-Platonism. It was a period of eclecticism, scepticism and aridity.

However, it became clear that when a revival came, it would be theocentric, not anthropocentric like the thought of the great period, nor cosmocentric, like the speculations of the Ionians. The combination of religious mysticism with ascetic morality was favorable to Plato and the Stoa. The school of Aristotle declined rapidly after Alexander of Aphrodisias, and the Epicureans were denounced with moral indignation.

The cradle of neo-Platonism was not Athens, which at this time neither produced nor welcomed original thinkers, but the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, where men of all nations rubbed shoulders and exchanged ideas. The tone of Alexandria was tolerant; Hadrian found the same persons worshipping Christ and Serapis. Even Buddhists and followers

of the Eastern religions gained a footing there.

There was a revival of Pythagoreanism, a more intellectualized form of the old Orphic brotherhood. The neo-Pythagorean revered the sun as the highest revelation of the supreme Deity, but he was glad to take part in almost any religious rite, and was initiated into all the great mysteries. His life was austere, his religion mystical. Pythagoreanism was a complex product. It taught the unity of all life, with an unending cycle of births and deaths. It also taught the fall of the soul from its heavenly abode, and the path of its return to God by strict discipline. Lastly, it taught communion with the Divine by means of sacraments, but also by means of philosophy or intellectual enlightenment. These Pythagorean societies prepared the way for neo-Platonism.

MITHRAS SLAYING THE SACRIFICIAL BULL

This fine bas-relief, found in a subterranean sanctuary to the god at Heddernheim in Germany, shows Mithras, originally a Persian deity, killing the bull at the order of Ahura-mazda. Right and left of him stand Cautes and Cautopates, personifications of the dawn and sunset. The event is represented as taking place in a cave, over which are carved the signs of the zodiac.

'Les archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire'

Plutarch is an interesting figure for us, since his writings have survived. He was a great gentleman, conservative in his opinions and yet eager to welcome light from any quarter. He considers that the two undesirable extremes in matters of religion are atheism and superstition, but he cannot make up his mind to condemn the latter outright. It is a rheum in the eye of faith, but it is not worth while to risk putting out an eye in trying to cure it. In philosophy, he borrows what he wants from Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics.

Still more eclectic is Numenius of Apamea, who wished to embrace in his philosophy the wisdom of the Egyptians, Magi, Indians, and even of the Jews—a new thing in Greek philosophy. But if we had more documents, we might find that Philo, the Platonizing Jew, was by no means an isolated figure, and that other Greeks besides Numenius were willing to give attention to Hellenized Judaism.

Out of this strange congeries of beliefs and speculations two monuments of permanent value arose—the Christian Catechetical School of Alexandria and the philosophy of Plotinus. As the Christian Origen is said to have attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas, in whose discourses the young Plotinus first saw light, a very few words about this School seem necessary here. Biblical study was their chief preoccupation, but the Greek philosophers, except "the godless Epicureans," were also studied. Clement is insistent that philosophy is no enemy of faith. Faith is an adventure, an experi-

ment which ends in an experience. It leads to illumination, which is "complex," whereas faith, and love, which is the crown of the quest, uniting the soul with the object of its desires, are "simple." Proclus was to say the same later.

Origen was a great scholar, who helped to destroy Gnosticism by giving the Church a true Christian Platonism. Plotinus tried to do the same service for Paganism. Both were in a sense defeated by the barbarization of the Empire and the craving for occultism and superstition. But what was said of the Pagan thinker—"the fires on the altar of Plotinus are never put out"—might be said with equal truth of Origen.

It is difficult to outline the teaching of Plotinus, which has been of immense importance for the subsequent history of philosophy and religion, and which is still extremely significant. It was a wonderful attempt to gather into a coherent system the best results of many centuries of unfettered thought. While in intention an orthodox Platonist, he owes much to Aristotle, the Stoa and Pythagoras; like others in his time, he professes boundless respect for the great men of old. But every question was threshed out in the Seminar which gathered round him at Rome; some of his pupils were well able to state objections and urge difficulties. The "Enneads" in which his system is expounded are unfortunately ill-arranged as well as obscure in style; but there is no serious criticism which has not been anticipated and honestly discussed in the work itself. Plotinus had not quite the genius of Plato or Aristotle, but it is in him that Greek philosophy culminates.

In the teaching of Plotinus the three Divine "hypostases"—the word is often translated as "persons," but this is misleading—are "the One," "the Good" or "the First"; "Nous," which, to avoid the common mistake that finds "intellectualism" in the system, I prefer to translate "Spirit," instead of "Reason" or "Intelligence"; and Soul. The One, the Absolute, is purely transcendent, being above even the distinction of subject and object. He is the source from whom all Being proceeds; Eckhart in like manner distinguishes between the Godhead, of whom nothing can be predicated, and God, the Three Persons of the Trinity. It is a necessary result of the neo-Platonic dialectic that we cannot stop short of absolute unity, though we are obliged to put this "beyond Being." Spirit and the Spiritual World are one; they correspond exactly to each other; but there could be no existence if thought and its object were not so far held apart that they remain thought and object. In the One this distinction is transcended; and in consequence the perfected Spirit can still pray and aspire.

MANY DEITIES IN ONE

In this statuette Fortuna Panthea is invested with the head-dress of Isis, the wings of Victory, the quiver of Artemis, the serpent of Aesculapius, the rudder and cornucopia of Fortune and the images of Castor and Pollux.

Wendland, 'Die Hellenistisch-Romische Kultur'

But Plotinus has another reason for believing in the Absolute One. He has had experience of the formless trance, which, like other mystics, he regards as the supreme experience of the spiritual life. We must not exaggerate the importance of this swoon into the Infinite; it is spoken of as an exceedingly rare phenomenon, and of very brief duration. Still less must we follow those who translate "the One" by "God." Plotinus never thought of equating the One with the God of normal worship. The One is the "utterly ineffable Beginning" of all things, including the gods.

The real center of the neo-Platonic system is the Second Principle, "the One-Many," which consists of "Noëta" and "Nous," the spiritual world and the Spirit which perceives it. This is the heaven of Plotinus, a rich life in which the soul breathes the atmosphere of eternity, and is conversant with the eternal thoughts of the Creator, who makes our beautiful world to reflect his own beauty and goodness. In this world live the spirits of just men made perfect; and they know each other through and through, thinking each other's thoughts and living in perfect unity, for in Heaven there is no time or space to separate kindred souls from each other. Individuality is maintained, we know not by what means, without separation. We shall be departing a little from the language, but not from the thought of Plotinus, if we say that his spiritual world is a kingdom of values —Truth, Beauty and Goodness. These values are not unrealized ideals, or creations of the mind. They are objective facts, realized in the eternal world which can never be separated from the Divine mind which lives in it.

The Third Person in the neo-Platonic Trinity is not the aggregate of individual souls, but the Soul of the All. Soul is an energy thrown off by Spirit, not sharply distinguished from it (there are no hard lines or steep steps in Plotinus), but on a lower plane, since Soul is conscious of unfulfilled desire; it yearns to return to the untroubled world of Spirit. Soul stands midway between the phenomenal world, of which it is the principle, and the world of Spirit, which is its principle. It has a foot in either world, and is the wanderer in the field of reality.

However, the World Soul is not in the world; rather the world is in it. "The life of the world" is an energy of Soul, which is both its creator and the providence which watches over it. Its energy descends as low as vegetable life, and slumbers even in stones. Plotinus thus escapes cutting the world in half; he knows no generic difference between what we call dead and living matter. Modern science seems to be coming round to his view.

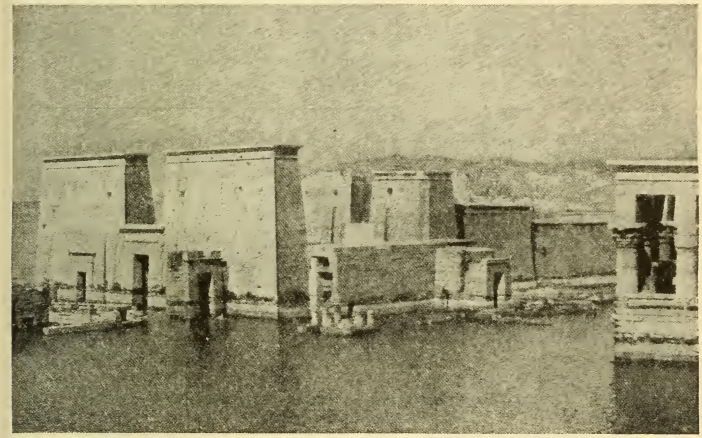
Each man's self is determined by the principle with which he energizes. The discipline of the philosophic life, which begins with the "civic virtues," and proceeds with arduous purification from the trammels of the sensuous and sensual, has for its object and result the enlightenment of the understanding, which advances *pari passu* with our moral and spiritual progress. When the "soul becomes spirit," its task is achieved, though the vision of the One, which is described as a pearl of great price, conferring bliss unutterable and inspiration when it has passed, remains as an object of desire even "in Heaven," where the soul lives "ever attaining and ever striving upward." At the other end of the scale is what we can only call by the most misleading name "matter," for matter in Plotinus is not material; it is the residuum when all that gives life, meaning and substance has been withdrawn.

According to him, the conflict with evil is rather a process of emancipation from what is alien to the soul than a struggle with a hostile spiritual power. It follows that though a bad man may lose his soul, the soul that he loses is not the soul that would have been his if he had not been a bad man. Personality, it will be seen, is a fluid concept. We have to gain our souls.

This sketch may be enough to indicate the nature of the religion in which Hellenism gave its last message to the world. We can hardly blame the later Platonists for not making more of social reform and the kingdom of God upon earth; for what opportunity was there for such aspirations in an age of tyranny and military pronunciamientos? But in comparing this system with Christianity, we note its inferiority in one particular. The neo-Platonic saint was isolated from his fellows—so far, at least, as to be independent of them. This ambition to be completely independent characterizes, as I have said, all ancient philosophy; the religion of Christ gives up this invulnerability, and thus shows both a deeper love and a higher courage. This divergence is connected with the Christian Incarnation—the voluntary "coming down" of the higher principle to redeem the lower.

Plotinus and his school could never quite make up their minds whether the soul sinned in "coming down" to the lower sphere. Augustine, for whom

Plotinus was a schoolmaster to bring him to Christ, was right in finding here the main difference between Platonism and Christianity. "The Word made flesh —that I found not among them." But, on the whole, there was not much to divide the philosophic Pagan from the philosophic Christian, except their attitude towards the old culture. We can understand the passionate grief with which the Pagans watched their civilization dying; and we can also understand the indifference of the Christian Church to its passing.



SUBMERGED TEMPLE OF THE GODDESS ISIS

The holiest spot connected with the mother goddess Isis was the island Philae, where the Ptolemies erected the great temple of Isis whose pylons and forecourt are seen on the left, and the smaller Kiosk (right) known as Pharaoh's Bed. Even after the establishment of Christianity in Egypt the worship of Isis still continued at Philae. The ruins are now submerged for five months in the year.

CHINA'S EXPANSION AND ITS WESTWARD PRESSURE

SOCIAL ASPECTS AND EXTERNAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE GREAT PERIOD OF CHINESE POWER UNDER THE HAN DYNASTY

By LIONEL GILES, D.Litt.

Deputy Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum; Author of Sayings of Confucius, etc.

THE beginnings of Chinese civilization are not easily determined; they stretch back so far as to be lost in a haze of myth and legend. But there is no good reason for doubting the evidence of ancient records which represent the Chinese people as having already emerged from the pastoral stage in the third millennium B.C. and settled in the basin of the Yellow River. The establishment of the Chou dynasty, a thousand years later, found China still quite a small nation, but it marks the beginning of a new era, during which the institutions of the people as known to us to-day gradually took shape.

The great teacher Confucius lived about 500 B.C., and after him came a succession of thinkers and writers whose work may compare with that of the Greek philosophers who flourished at about the same time. Intellectually, China then stood almost on a par with Greece, and far ahead of any other country in the world. But her civilization was hardly felt beyond her own borders: she had no Alexander to carry her ideas abroad.

The chief cause that prevented China from blossoming out as a world power was her condition of internal division and discord. This, again, was due to the feudal system by which the whole country was split up into a number of semi-independent states, held together only by a nominal bond of allegiance to a suzerain who had long been too weak to enforce obedience to his commands. During the latter part of the Chou dynasty, however, feudalism had gradually been giving way. The lesser states were conquered and absorbed by their powerful neighbors, until only six remained to confront the steady aggrandisement of the Ts'in (Ch'in) state. After a bitter struggle these also succumbed, and the unification of China was completed by the great man who assumed the title of First Emperor.

Frequently during the Chou period we hear of incursions by barbarian tribes from the west and north-west; these may have been the forefathers of the Hsiung-nu, those formidable nomads who for several centuries were in perpetual conflict with the Chinese, and mysteriously vanished from Eastern Asia only to reappear in Europe as the Huns of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Although the Hsiung-nu suffered a great defeat at the hands of the First Emperor's general Mêng T'ien, who drove them back to the north of the desert and proceeded to build the protective barrier known as the Great Wall, their power was by no means broken, and continued to increase during the next hundred years. Repulsed for the time being, however, from the Chinese frontier, they began to exert lateral pressure on neighbors to the east and west.

Their 'shan-yü,' or chieftain, Beghdur, first attacked the Tungusic tribes of eastern Mongolia and crushed them so completely that they practically ceased to exist. He then turned his attention to the Yueh-chih, an Iranian people who were occupying what is now the western portion of Kansu province. Each year they were harried and driven farther from their ancient home, until they had crossed the T'ien Shan and forced their way past Issekul and Tashkend into Sogdiana. Having reached the Sea of Aral, they turned south-east, conquered Bactria in 139 B.C. and ultimately found the Kushanor Ephthalite Empire south of the Oxus (see Chap. 40). Their king, Kadphises I, invaded Parthia and Afghanistan,

and his son finally conquered the Punjab. The Parthians, on the other hand, reacting to the pressure from the east, were forced into their age-long contest with Rome. All this may be regarded as an indirect consequence of the First Emperor's victory over the Hsiung-nu.

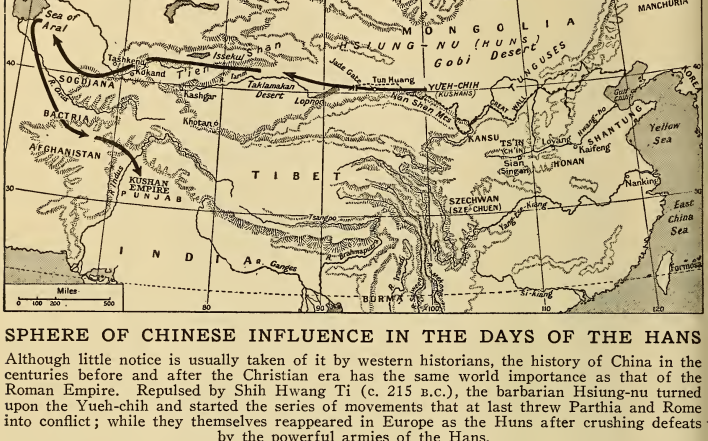
Another result, of the first importance for the Chinese, was the mission of Chang Ch'ien, who was sent to discover the whereabouts of the Yueh-chih after their long trek, in order to conclude an alliance with them against their old enemies the Hsiung-nu. Although unsuccessful in this particular, Chang Ch'ien was the first Chinese official to reach Bactria, where his attention was also drawn to the existence of India, and he brought back invaluable information about the states of central Asia, hitherto almost unknown to the Chinese. This was really the beginning of regular trade between China and the West, most of which seems to have passed through the Jade Gate near Tun Huang, across the Gobi and Taklamakan deserts to Khotan and Kashgar.

In order to make this trade route secure, it was necessary to deal a smashing blow at the Hsiung-nu power, which had revived and become more menacing than ever. Hence the far-reaching campaigns of 127 to 119 B.C., in the course of which the Chinese penetrated to Urga. A chain of fortified posts was

MODELS THAT SHED LIGHT ON CHINESE LIFE IN THE TIME OF THE HANS

Like the Egyptian river-valley civilization, and apparently unlike that of Mesopotamia, it was the Chinese custom to place in the dead man's tomb models of what might be of use to him in the next world—flocks, servants, implements and even houses. All the objects in this page are of Han Dynasty date (206 B.C.-A.D. 220).

British Museum



SPHERE OF CHINESE INFLUENCE IN THE DAYS OF THE HANS

Although little notice is usually taken of it by western historians, the history of China in the centuries before and after the Christian era has the same world importance as that of the Roman Empire. Repulsed by Shih Hwang Ti (c. 215 B.C.), the barbarian Hsiung-nu turned upon the Yueh-chih and started the series of movements that at last threw Parthia and Rome into conflict; while they themselves reappeared in Europe as the Huns after crushing defeats by the powerful armies of the Hans.

thrown far out into the desert towards Lopnor, and a wedge was thus driven between the hordes of Tibet and the Hsiung-nu.

There is a strong outward resemblance between the vicissitudes of the Roman Empire and those of China under the Han dynasty. The second century B.C. was for both countries an era of expansion and conquest, which was followed by a century of consolidation, wealth and prosperity. The civil wars in Rome which led to the downfall of the Republic are comparable to the widespread disturbances caused at a somewhat later date by the usurper Wang Mang. The restoration of order under Kuang Wu, who came to the throne in A.D. 25, corresponds to the assumption of the imperial dignity by Augustus, and during the next hundred years the power and prestige of both empires reached their zenith.

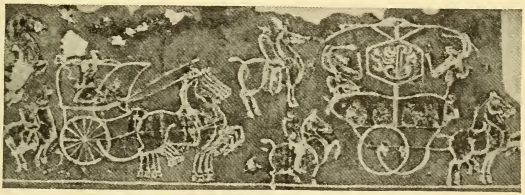
More remarkable still, the introduction of Buddhism into China seems to have nearly coincided with the arrival of the first Christian missionaries in Rome; and each of these new religions was destined to exercise a profound influence on national manners and habits of thought. Yet, in spite of these similarities, the ensuing history of the two nations was so strikingly different that it will be instructive to inquire later on into the causes that tended to preserve the one civilization while the other sank steadily into decay.

At the close of its feudal period China was already a large and populous state, as may be gathered from an official census return of the year A.D. 2.

It was a time of many inventions and improvements. The old cumbrous style of writing was simplified, and the characters were now traced in ink with a hair-pencil instead of a stylus or a piece of frayed bamboo. First silk, and then paper made from vegetable fibres and rags, were substituted for the wooden tablets hitherto used. The result was the multiplication of books and a consequent spreading of education.

Under the Han dynasty the Chinese people enjoyed with few interruptions the blessings of a settled government and internal peace such as it had not known for many centuries. This, coupled with the spread of Confucianist doctrine and its application in the moral sphere, brought about a general softening of manners, which showed itself in the abolition of more savage punishments, such as the mutilation of criminals. This tendency was soon strengthened by the influence of Buddhism, a religion which played a part somewhat similar to that of Christianity, though less aggressive and revolutionary in its aims and methods.

One of the causes that favored the acceptance of the new religion was the marked similarity between many of its tenets and those of the native system of Taoism. The reputed founder of Taoism was a shadowy figure called Lao Tze, who is supposed to have been an older contemporary of Confucius in the sixth century B.C. (see also Chap. 31). He propounded a doctrine of quietism, laisser-faire and general conformity with nature, which could have very little meaning for the masses, and was at first regarded simply as a somewhat eccentric offshoot of Confucianism.



POMP OF A ROYAL PROCESSION

Eight incised stone slabs found on a hill in Shantung probably belonged to the ancestral temple of some prince of the first century B.C. This rubbing shows a procession wherein musicians with drums and pipes in a canopied two-horse carriage precede the king in his four-horse chariot.

From Chavannes, 'La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine'

Certain mystic and ambiguous sayings of Lao Tze were interpreted to mean that it was possible for man to prolong his life indefinitely, and finally, by strict attention to diet, regulation of the breath, the taking of drugs, especially cinnabar, and other exercises, both physical and mental, to shake off the trammels of flesh altogether and become a 'hsien' or immortal. Then, in virtue of his etherealized body, he might either rise up to heaven or remain voluntarily on earth for a certain period—sometimes hundreds of years—in order to transmit the secret of immortality to his fellow men.

The belief in a spirit world which man must propitiate by offerings or circumvent by crafty devices has always been deeply ingrained in the people of China, and we know that wizards and exorcists were commonly consulted even by the educated classes. There seems, however, to have been little in the way of organization that would entitle the body of the faithful to be regarded as a distinct sect or church until the closing years of the first century A.D., when a remarkable man named Chang Tao-ling arose.

Like other Taoists, he eagerly engaged in the quest for longevity, and dissipated most of his fortune on the drugs he required for compounding the elixir of life. Then, hearing that the inhabitants of the remote district of Szechwan (Sze-Chuen) were simple and credulous folk, he migrated thither with a small following of disciples, and began to organize a miniature state based on Taoists principles. Among other regulations an annual levy of rice amounting to five bushels per head was imposed on the people, and earned for him the opprobrious epithet of 'Rice-thief.' His ideas were developed and his work carried on even more energetically by his grandson Chang Lu, who ruled over a large tract of country without let or hindrance for thirty years. Two other members of the same family, Chang Chio and Chang Hsiu, also collected followers round them and set up similar states in different parts of China. The former, not content with religions propaganda, harbored treasonable designs against the ruling dynasty; styling himself the Yellow God, he fomented the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans (so called because of the badge worn by the insurgents) which, initiated a period of anarchy that proved fatal to the House of Han.

Most of the long series of rebellions that have devastated China are traceable to the same causes that provoked the uprising of the Yellow Turbans.

Yet it must be admitted that some beneficial results flowed from the administration of the Changs. We are told that 'the districts they governed were remarkable for orderliness; roads and bridges were kept in decent repair, cesspools were drained, brambles were cut away, and, in short, there was no useful work to which the people did not put their hand.'

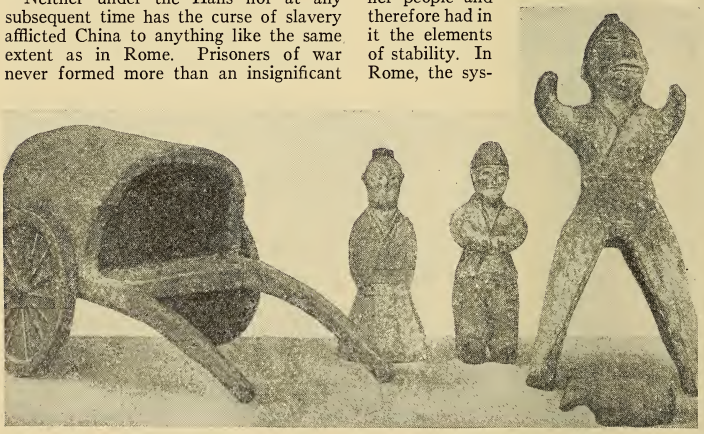
The creation of a public spirit such as one rarely finds among Chinese peasants speaks highly for the administrative wisdom of the reformers. Coercion would certainly not have carried them very far; and we are expressly told that Chang Tao-ling disliked the infliction of punishment, and tried to govern the people by constantly appealing to their sense of shame.

More potent, perhaps, than religious ferment or any other external cause in bringing about the downfall of the Han dynasty was the corruption existing within the imperial palace.

The ascendancy of the eunuchs increased steadily from the very beginning of the later Han period, and became a serious menace towards the end of the first century A.D. During the years 147-189 they were the real masters of the state, and their crimes were so flagrant that a plot was hatched for their total extermination. More than two thousand were slain, but it was already too late to save the dynasty, which perished in a welter of bloodshed and confusion.

Neither under the Hans nor at any subsequent time has the curse of slavery afflicted China to anything like the same extent as in Rome. Prisoners of war never formed more than an insignificant fraction of the population, and the bulk of the slaves consisted of native Chinese sold in childhood, especially during periods of famine, to become members of wealthier families. Generally speaking, too, their lot was by no means so hard as in the Roman world: there were no slave-markets, nor were slaves usually treated with brutality; they have never been regarded as mere chattels nor placed outside the pale of humanity. Moreover, male slaves could always regain their freedom by purchase, while slave girls, who were much more numerous and really took the place of hired domestics, were in most cases married off at a suitable age, thus becoming free. It would appear, then, that the term 'slavery' had quite different connotations in East and West.

On the whole, it may be said of China that her civilization was indigenous and truly national, whereas Roman civilization, borrowed largely from the Greeks, was hardly more than skin-deep. Long political experience evolved a form of government in China which was suited to the genius of her people and therefore had in it the elements of stability. In Rome, the sys-



INTIMATE GLIMPSE OF LIFE IN A HUMBLE CHINESE HOMESTEAD

These well-modeled objects from a tomb in Honan may be of T'ang Dynasty date (618-906), but are very probably earlier, say of the Six Dynasties period (220-587). The strange attitude of the large figure shows that he was intended to bestride a horse; the two smaller ones are a male and a female attendant. But what is to be noted is that they come from a definitely humble grave, and suggest what one might expect to find in a royal or princely tomb.

British Museum

tem of dual consulship broke down under new conditions to which it was unsuited; and the principate of Augustus and his successors, adopted as a measure of necessity, fitted so awkwardly with republican traditions that its existence had to be disguised as much as possible.

It is natural to conclude this comparative study with an inquiry as to the intercourse that may have taken place between the two empires that were separated by a whole continent. Although the expedition to Kokand (a part of the first 'forward movement') opened up the trade routes to the West, and it is certain that Chinese wares, especially silk, furs and iron, were soon afterwards brought in large quantities to the Roman market, there is no evidence that the two nations had any direct intercourse or were more than vaguely aware of each other's existence. But nearly two centuries later, when the Romans were firmly established at Antioch and the eastern portion of the Roman Empire was known by report to the Chinese under the curious designation of Ta Ts'in or Ta Ch'in, Pan Ch'ao actually sent one of his lieutenants on a mission to Syria. The passage in the Later Han History runs thus:

In the ninth year of the Yung-yuan period of the reign of Ho Ti (A.D. 97), the General Protector Pan Ch'ao sent Kan Ying on an embassy to Ta Ts'in. When he arrived in T'iao-chih, near the coast of the Great Sea, and was about to take ship there, some sailors from the western district of Parthia spoke to him as follows: 'The waters of the ocean are very wide, and a traveller takes three months to get across even if he obtains a favorable wind; if the winds are contrary, he may take as much as two years; consequently, those who embark must carry with them supplies to last for three years. More-over, the sea has the effect of creating a great yearning for the homeland, and many lose their lives on the voyage.' On hearing this report, Kan Ying went no further.

The 'Great Sea' mentioned in the text was formerly believed to be the Caspian, but Hirth has shown conclusive reasons for identifying it with the Persian Gulf, so that the sea voyage indicated must have been from a port on the Tigris or Euphrates, round the Arabian peninsula, and up the Red Sea to the Gulf of Suez. The Parthians doubtless had good reasons of their own for wishing to prevent direct commercial intercourse between the Romans and the Chinese; but it is tantalizing to reflect that a sailor's yarn may have been the deciding factor in keeping two great empires asunder. The opportunity thus lost never occurred again.

There is no record of Chinese traders having made the whole journey to the West by sea; but in A.D. 166, according to the histories, an embassy arrived at the Chinese Court bearing tribute from 'An-tun, King of Ta Ts'in.' It is stated to have come via Annam, which means that it must have used the sea route. This, it is added, was the only occasion during the Han period when there was direct communication between Ta Ts'in and China. 'An-tun' can be no other than the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, but it is highly improbable that the mission was an official one; it is more likely to have been organized for trade purposes by Syrian or Egyptian merchants.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XII

A.D.
212 Caracalla murders Geta; becomes emperor. Decree extending Roman citizenship to all free subjects of the Empire.
213 Execution of Papinian for refusing to defend the murder of Geta.
Caracalla leaves Rome. His whole reign an orgy of bloodshed.
217 Caracalla assassinated in Syria by agents of Macrinus, who assumes the purple.
218 Macrinus defeated and killed by the troops of Bassianus (Elagabalus), the thirteen-year-old priest of the Syrian sun god at Emesa. Elagabalus emperor.
220 *India:* Break up of the Kushan empire.
222 Elagabalus murdered. Severus emperor.
China: End of Han Dynasty. Three Kingdoms, to 265.
223 Ulpian minister till his murder in 228.
226 *Persia:* The Sassanid Artaxerxes overthrows the Arsacid dynasty and founds the new Persian Empire.
223–4 Artaxerxes challenges the Roman Empire.
235 Mutineers make Maximinus emperor.
240 *Persia:* Sapor I succeeds Artaxerxes.
243 Sapor invades Syria.
244 Gordian assassinated. The prefect Philip "the Arabian" usurps the purple.
248 Celebration of thousandth year from foundation of Rome in 753 B.C.
Appearance of Goths on the lower Danube.
249 Revolt of Decius. Philip killed at Verona.
Decius emperor. Reforms morals and religion, revives the censorship, and persecutes the Christians.
250 Decius campaigns against Goths on Danube.
251 Decius killed in great defeat at Forum Trebonii. Peace made with the Goths by the new emperor Gallus.
253 Æmilianus in Illyria defeats Goths; kills Gallus, but is crushed by Valerian.
Valerian emperor.
256–258 Successes of Gallienus and Postumus.
258 *Persia:* Sapor subjugates Armenia, expelling the infant Tiridates.
259 Goths overrun Asia Minor. Destruction of temple of Diana at Ephesus.
260 Goths capture Cyzicus and raid Ægean coasts.
Sapor invades Mesopotamia. Persian War.
Defeat and capture of Valerian by Sapor at Edessa.
Gallienus sole emperor.
Sapor surprises and sacks Antioch, but his attack on Syria is checked by Odenathus of Palmyra.
261–268 Decree of Gallienus excluding senators from military service.
265 *China:* End of the Three Kingdoms; union under the Western Ts'in (Chin) dynasty.
266 Assassination of Odenathus; who is succeeded by his widow Zenobia.
268 Gallienus killed in quelling a revolt.
Claudius II emperor. For two centuries the emperors with few exceptions are of Illyrian stock.
269 Gothic war. Victory of Claudius at Naissus.
270 Claudius dies of plague. Aurelian emperor.
Treaty establishing Goths as allies in Dacia.
271 War with Alemanni who break into Italy.
272 Aurelian repulses the Alemanni, and surrounds Rome with a new military wall.
Suppression of Tetricus, the Gallic "Augustus."
273 Capture of Zenobia and fall of Palmyra.
274 *Persia:* Death of Sapor; acc. of Varanes I.
Aurelian prepares a Persian expedition.
275 Aurelian assassinated. No emperor for eight months. Senate appoints Tacitus.

A.D.
276 Tacitus dies on Persian campaign. His brother Florian usurps the purple, but is put down by Probus, who is formally accepted as emperor. Persian campaign abandoned.
277–281 Probus conducts a series of successful trans-Rhine campaigns.
279 Suppression of revolt of Saturninus.
282 Probus murdered in mutiny. Carus emperor.
283 Persian campaign of Carus; killed by lightning in trans-Tigris. Roman retreat.
Carinus in West, Numerianus in East, sons of Carus, proclaimed emperors.
284 Death of Numerian; military election of Diocletian; on the assassination of Carinus, Diocletian emperor.
285 Diocletian associates Maximian, as Augustus for the West. The center of the supreme imperial authority shifts from Italy to the East. In Italy Milan displaces Rome as headquarters.
287 Carasius recognized as Britannic Augustus.
290 Tiridates recovers the Armenian crown.
292 Quadruple partition of the Empire; Diocletian Augustus in the East (Capital Nicæa), with Galerius Cæsar on the Danube (cap. Sirmium); Maximum Augustus at Milan, with Constantius Chlorus Cæsar at Trèves.
293 Carausius assassinated by usurper Allectus.
296 Constantius recovers Britain; fall of Allectus.
298 Defeat and victories of Galerius.
299 Forty years' peace with Persia. Tiridates restored in Armenia.
303 Edict for suppression of Christianity, which Constantius declines to enforce. The last or Diocletian persecution.
305 Diocletian abdicates; also Maximian. Galerius and Constantius, Augusti; Maximin (Daza) and Flavius Severus, Cæsars.
306 Death of Constantius. His son Constantine becomes Cæsar, Severus becomes Western Augustus.
307 Revolt of Maxentius and Maximian, who are both proclaimed Augusti; death of Severus. They also proclaim Constantine Augustus.
308 Galerius relinquishes invasion of the West, but makes Licinius Cæsar on the Danube and concedes title of Augustus to Maximin. Maximian is deposed but continues intrigues.
310 *Persia:* Birth and accession of Sapor II Postumus.
312 Constantine invades Italy; tradition of his Vision. Maxentius crushed and killed at battle of the Milvian Bridge.
313 Constantine comes to terms with Licinius, who crushes Maximin.
Constantine issues Milan Edict of Toleration.
314 Constantine arbitrates at Council of Arles.
314–322 Campaigns on and across the Danube; and reorganization of the West.
317 *China:* Eastern Ts'in dynasty.
320 *India:* Rise of Gupta empire under Chandragupta II.
323 Final duel between Constantine and Licinius as Pagan champion.
324 Edict of Toleration throughout the Empire.
325 General Council of the Church at Nicæa, under Constantine's presidency; Arianism condemned.
326 Athanasius Patriarch of Alexandria.
Dedication of Constantinople which takes the place of Rome as the center of the Empire, still called Roman.
330 *India:* Accession of Samudragupta.

Chronicle XII

THE EMPIRE IN DECLINE: A.D. 211—330

THE expansion of the Roman Empire had practically ceased with Julius Cæsar, save that the annexation of Britain, which he had postponed in order to give his attention to other more immediately important considerations, had been carried out a hundred years after his death by Claudius and the Flavians.

To hold the Rhine-Danube-Euphrates frontier imposed a tremendous strain on the military resources of the Empire; beyond that frontier the imperial armies might wage victorious campaigns, but to follow up victories by attempting permanent occupation would have involved an enormous increase in the permanent military establishment for garrisoning the annexed territory. And now the movements among the migratory barbarians were making the problem of maintaining the existing frontier increasingly difficult. After Severus, the Empire is fighting to hold its own against the rising flood.

Beyond the Rhine-Danube border lay the New Peoples, tribes bred to arms: Germans, Dacians, "Scythians"; behind them Scandinavians, "northmen." Would the Latinized or the Hellenized Empire be able to escape submersion? The Empire had on its side the supreme advantage of a vast organization, under a single central control—if that control were adequate—and of a sense of unity despite its diversity.

THE diversity was sufficiently marked when an emperor, who was himself an African with a Syrian wife, died at York in Celtic Britain in A.D. 211, having been raised to the purple eighteen years before by the legions and cohorts serving in Illyria and on the Danube, in defiance of the only legions whose recruiting ground was in Italy, the Prætorians. The succession to Septimius Severus was shared at first by the two degenerate sons who were serving with the army in Britain, Bassianus, known always by his nickname Caracalla, and Geta. The theoretical unity at least was formally emphasized by the first public act of Caracalla, the extension of Roman citizenship in A.D. 212 to all freemen in the Empire.

Severus had restored the military power and prestige of the Empire, which had suffered grievously under Commodus; ruling as an autocrat with hardly veiled disregard of constitutional forms, he had more than maintained the authority of the principate. The succession of his sons was undisputed, but neither meant to share the power with his brother for long. The two young men made no pretense of concealing their mutual hostility which their mother, Julia Domna, the long and deservedly trusted consort of Severus, did her best to allay. Yet she could not even save Geta from being murdered in her very arms by Caracalla, who claimed that he had been forced to slay his brother in self-defense.

The assassin's bestial savagery was at once displayed. The perfect Papinian, to whose wisdom Severus had for the most part left the civil administration, refused to provide an official defense of the murder, and paid the penalty for the refusal with his life. A host of Geta's real or suspected partisans were put to death by Caracalla's order. The decree of universal citizenship was issued doubtless as a bid for popularity in the provinces, whither Caracalla, now sole emperor, soon betook himself lest the capital should be too hot to hold him; leaving a fellow-countryman, Macrinus, in the office formerly held by Papinian.

In the provinces Caracalla continued his career of savagery, shifting from place to place. At Alexandria, having suffered some insult to his dignity, he had some thousands of the population massacred. These things were endured because he bought the good will of the soldiery by relaxation of discipline and lavish donations and increase of pay, both at the expense of the civil population as well as of military efficiency. The terror was ended in 217, the sixth year of his reign, because the prefect Macrinus discovered that his own life was threatened, and suborned an assassin to do away with

CARACALLA AND GETA, DEGENERATE SONS OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

Caracalla (left), to give Bassianus his historic nickname, and Geta, his younger brother, were with their father, Septimius Severus, in Britain when he died at York in A.D. 211, and they immediately returned to Rome as joint heirs to the purple. Almost immediately Caracalla, then only twenty-three years of age, murdered Geta, actually in the arms of his mother, Julia Domna (right), and so embarked on a six years' reign of terror that was terminated by his own assassination.

Berlin Museum (left) and The Louvre

the tyrant, who was then in Syria, before the blow should fall. Yet the death of Caracalla only plunged the Empire a fraction deeper into the abyss of degradation.

Macrinus, whose guilt was at first unsuspected, procured his own elevation to the imperial dignity, since there was no obvious rival. But he was no soldier, and lacked both the abilities and the character to maintain the position at which his ambition had snatched. When a rival was produced his fate was sealed. There were no descendants of Severus, but there were surviving his wife's sister Mæsa, her two daughters Soæmias and Mamæa, and their two young sons Bassianus and Alexander.

These Syrian women were ambitious. The elder of the boys had been made high-priest of the Syrian sun god Elagabalus at Emesa. To win over the soldiery, his mother and grandmother did not scruple to spread the story that Caracalla was his father. The bulk of the troops in Syria were incited to rise in the name of Caracalla's son; Macrinus was overthrown in a battle some miles from Antioch, and the young high priest of Elagabalus became Augustus Cæsar (218), the Senate in Rome assenting as a matter of course. History knows him by the name of his sun god, often twisted into the form of Heliogabalus. He dated his reign, actually of nearly four years, from the death of Caracalla (217-222).

The reign was one vast orgy of the most extravagant and monstrous luxury and unspeakable vices. The one mitigating circumstance is the emperor's youth; for when at last the Prætorians slew him and flung his dead body into the Tiber, he cannot have been more than one-and-twenty.

Such a career as his was doomed from the first to be brief. Mæsa, no doubt, very soon realized that if her hopes were to be fulfilled it must be through her second grandson, whose upbringing was very different; for Alexander's mother, Mamæa, was a shrewd and able as well as an ambitious woman. The younger boy was of an amiable nature, intelligent and free from the inordinate sensuality of the elder; and virtuous influences were brought to bear on his training. He was, so to speak, everything that Elagabalus was not, though it may be doubted whether he had real strength of character.

Pains were taken to make him personally popular with the soldiery, who were sickened at the unmanliness of the

emperor; and it was finally their disgusted convictions that Elagabalus, in panic jealousy of his cousin, was determined to do away with him, that drove the Prætorians to invade the palace, slay Elagabalus, and proclaim Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235) emperor, while yet in his seventeenth year.

Alexander, in his all too brief reign, would seem to have taken Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius as his models. In the civil administration he was guided by a carefully selected council of state, in which during his first years the leading minister was Ulpian, a pupil of Papinian; holding, like his master in the days of Severus, the curious composite office of prætorian prefect, which had in effect become a judicial rather than a military appointment. But the problem of effective control was rendered for him more difficult than it had ever been for the Antonines, through the failure of military discipline and the insubordination of the rank and file of the soldiery, a condition for which his predecessor Caracalla was without doubt mainly responsible.

Alexander owed his throne, probably his life, to the Prætorians, and neither he nor they could forget it. Attempts on the part of their own protégé to curtail military licence were the more angrily resented by them, though at first they were content to attribute them to their own prefect Ulpian, whom, rising in mutiny, they slew in the very presence of the emperor, who strove in vain to shield him from their fury.

Alexander in person led Roman armies on at least one great campaign against the Eastern power which now again bore the Persian instead of the Parthian name. The Arsacids had been swept away by a Persian chief, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, who assumed the old Persian name Ardashir (Artaxerxes) and was bent on nothing less than the recovery of the old empire of the Great King. He deliberately challenged Rome and bade her depart out of Asia; and Alexander took up Ardashir's challenge.

The emperor returned from the campaign to render to the Senate a grandiloquent report of great victories won against immense odds. It seems clear however that the honors on the whole rested with the Persian.

Alexander had scarcely returned to Rome when he was summoned to the northern frontier where the pressure from the German and other barbarian hordes was never-ceasing. There he met his fate. The story is obscure.

The soldiery mutinied, murdered Alexander in his tent, and proclaimed emperor the willing captain of their own choice.

The new master of the world, the elect of the fighting frontiersmen who now formed the bulk of the Roman armies, was the Thracian Maximinus (235-238), a giant whose vast strength and almost incredible powers of endurance had attracted the attention of Severus thirty years before.

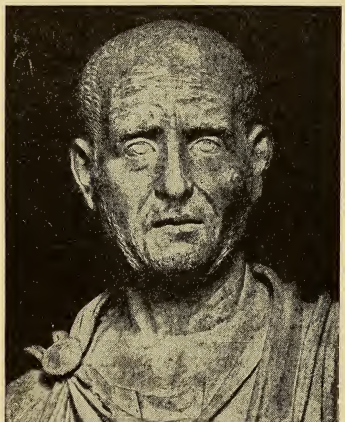
Maximinus was more than willing, but his crude intelligence was not commensurate with his highly developed muscles. For the moment, however, the sheer brute force of the man was irresistible; the more because the murder of a prince generally esteemed (as Alexander had been) was wholly unexpected. For three years, remaining himself with the army on the Rhine or the Danube, Maximinus ruled the Empire; which meant mainly that he avenged himself on every one whose ambition, character or abilities he feared, or by whom he conceived himself to have been slighted in the past; while all over the Empire he robbed the cities of their public funds and stripped temples of their treasures, stamping out resistance by ruthless massacre.

The general wrath and terror came to a head in the province of Africa. The people slaughtered an imperial official charged with the business of executing an imperial robbery, and forced Gordian, their own octogenarian prefect, in whose veins ran the blood of the Scipios, to assume the purple, very much against his own will, associating with him his scarcely less reluctant son (A.D. 237).

The Gordians made haste to report these proceedings to the Senate, submitting themselves to its decision as the constitutional authority. The Senate responded by confirming their election and declaring Maximinus a public enemy. But meanwhile the commander in Mauretania fell upon the Gordians and slew them. On receiving this alarming news the senators, who could hope for no mercy from Maximinus, elected two of their own number jointly, Balbinus and Maximus, to the principate (238); though

forced by the city mob to associate with them as Cæsar a very youthful Gordian. Maximinus, however, had to be reckoned with; for after some delay he was now moving down from the northern frontier upon Italy, and the armies which could there be mustered had little prospect of being able to meet him successfully in the field.

Maximinus, passing the Alps, found before him a denuded country, and a strongly defended fortress in Aquileia. He sat down before it and his troops began to starve; starving, they became mutinous, and murdered their chief in his tent. They had, of course, no alternative but to profess loyalty to the constitutional authority. The senatorial revolution was apparently complete. The joint emperors set about an honest attempt to place the government on an orderly basis and restore the discipline of the army, which very soon mutinied again, cut them to pieces, and declared the thirteen-year-old Gordian sole emperor. Five emperors—the two elder Gordians, Maximinus, Maximus and Balbinus—had all been slain within a period of twelve months (237-8).



DECIUS, ROMAN EMPEROR

Integrity of purpose as well as ability and a high courage distinguished Decius, who reluctantly accepted the purple after his defeat of his predecessor, Philip, at Verona in 249. He fell in battle against the Goths in 251.

Capitoline Museum

THEN there was a respite, since there was no reformer bold enough to exasperate the soldiers again. The civil administration fell at first into the hands of a group of venal intriguers, and then into the worthier control of the young emperor's tutor Misitheus, who, during his brief rule, accompanied and directed Gordian on a successful campaign across the Euphrates. But Misitheus died, and his place as prætorian prefect was taken by a soldier, Philip the Arabian; who lost no time in supplanting and slaying Gordian, having first won the favor of the soldiery, who hailed him emperor on the banks of the Euphrates (A.D. 244).

The most notable event in his five years' tenure of power was the magnificent celebration in 248 of the thousandth anniversary (according to the accepted popular chronology) of the foundation of the City of Rome in the legendary days of Romulus. A few months later news came to Rome that the legions on the lower Danube were in revolt and had proclaimed one Marinus emperor.

THE next report was that the soldiers had turned on their own nominee and murdered him; but the position was sufficiently serious to demand the sending of an able commander, Decius—no Asiatic nor barbarian from the north, but of a famous old Roman family—to control the troops in that barbarian region. They, however, were not to be controlled; and offered their new chief the choice between empire and present death. He chose empire, and marched with his troops upon Italy; Philip met him with numerically superior forces near the border; but the victory lay decisively with the war-hardened veterans of Mœsia. Philip was slain either in or after the battle. The Senate made haste to ratify the election of Decius (249), who professed to have accepted the decision of his soldiers against his will.

He would seem to have been a man of ability and character who was genu-

inely resolved to make a worthy use of the power which had been thrust on him. He proposed to restore the state by a revival of the old Roman virtues; the first steps to that end being the appointment of an honored and distinguished senator, Valerian, to the long obsolete office of censor, and a zealous return to the pristine worship of the ancient gods of Rome; which brought about a sharp but short persecution of the Christians, who had been undisturbed since the days of Marcus Aurelius. But action of another kind was immediately necessary. The menace on the middle and lower Danube was greater than it had ever been before.

A new movement was now working among the more northern peoples who occupied both shores of the southern Baltic. The first of these to make themselves felt were the Goths, who now emerge in the place of the Sarmatians on the Danube. In 250 Decius was summoned to the Balkans by the news that a vast Gothic host, supplemented by the fighting men of various non-Gothic tribes, had swarmed over the Danube and was ravaging the Roman province of Mœsia.

He found them engaged in besieging the fortress of Nicopolis. On his approach they left it to attack the much more important stronghold of Philippopolis, farther south. Decius marched in pursuit; the Goths turned, surprised his army, put it to rout, and rolled on to Philippopolis, which fell after a stubborn resistance—since the Roman forces, demoralized by defeat, could not be hurried to its relief—yielding a great booty and many prisoners of high station. Decius, however, reorganized his army, blocked the passes, cut the Goths' communications with the Trans-Danube, and threatened them with destruction. Both sides knew that the stake was all or nothing. In the great battle of Forum Trebonii, the emperor's gallant son was slain before his eyes, but the first line of Goths was shattered, and the second. But the front of the third was covered by a bog in which the imperial legions, pushing on to complete the victory, became hopelessly entangled, so that they were cut to pieces in the endeavor to extricate themselves, the emperor perishing with the rest of his legions (A.D. 251).

VAINGLORIOUS VERSION OF A VICTORY

Persian pride in the triumphs over Roman arms found expression in many reliefs on rocks and gems. This sardonyx seal depicts the Persian king Sapor I (distinguished by the grooved globes attached to his helm and shoulders) personally pulling the Roman emperor Valerian from his horse—an imaginary incident, since Valerian was trapped by treachery.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon

Decius had realized that the Goths were foes who for the safety of the Empire must be broken utterly and at all costs. Gallus, the successor chosen by the Senate—for the legions made no move—was of another mold. The defeat was of a character which by no means proved that the Goths were invincible by the Roman arms, but Gallus would take no more such risks. In return for retirement with all their booty and their prisoners, and a pledge not again to invade the Roman territory, he offered them a heavy annual subsidy. They accepted the terms with alacrity, and as a matter of course broke them as soon as it suited their purposes to do so.

Within a few months, the Goths or their allies were pouring into Illyria. Æmilianus, commanding Pannonia, flung

himself upon them and routed them. Having redeemed the honor of the Roman name, he, with the enthusiastic support of his legions, claimed the majesty so unworthily enjoyed by Gallus. He invaded Italy; the troops of Gallus, who marched against him, deserted to the rebel; Gallus was slain at Spoletium (A.D. 253). The Senate had barely time to ratify the title of the victor before he was in turn overthrown, four months after his victory.

Valerian, nominated three years before to the honorable office of censor by Decius, had been sent to command the armies on the Rhine. Gallus had been a constitutionally appointed emperor; Æmilianus was a usurper. Valerian marched against him; the fickle soldiery turned against Æmilianus and murdered him; and Valerian began a seven years' reign (A.D. 253-260) which brought fresh disaster. With himself he associated his son Gallienus, who reigned for eight years longer.

SAPOR, "KING OF KINGS"

Sapor I succeeded his father Ardashir Artaxerxes) on the Sassanian throne in 241 and carried on the conflict with Rome. He died in 272.

Berlin Museum

The guardianship of the German frontiers was placed in the hands of his son and colleague, together with the able soldier Postumus, who achieved what were claimed as glorious victories over the Franks and the Alemanni; but the actual fact appears to be that the north-Germans flooded across the lower Rhine into and through Gaul, even penetrating the Pyrenees; while the Alemanni were not so much curbed by the Roman arms as conciliated by Gallienus' marriage to the daughter of their most powerful prince, upon whom estates were bestowed in Pannonia.

While Gallienus was engaged in the West, his father Valerian was plunging into disaster in the Farther East. The great Ardashir was dead; he had held his own and a little more against Alexander, but at too great cost to be able himself to prosecute the ambitions he bequeathed to his son Sapor, or Shapur. Sapor's aggression was the cause of the campaign on which the young emperor Gordian was engaged when Philip usurped the purple in 244. Sapor, though checked for the moment, soon gathered strength. Armenia fell an easy prey to Sapor, who captured the Roman fortresses of Carrhæ—the scene of the Parthian triumph over Crassus which had occurred three hundred years before—and Nisibis.

Valerian, old though he was, assumed the command in the East. Near Edessa his army, by the treachery of the prætorian prefect Macrianus, was led into a trap. The legions failed in a desperate attempt to cut their way out; Valerian entering Sapor's camp to hold a conference with him was treacherously seized, and the Roman force surrendered (A.D. 260).

The tale of the insults and degradations to which his imperial captive was subjected—Sapor is said to have set his foot on the kneeling Valerian's neck whenever he mounted his horse—is doubtless more or less mythical, but certainly the old man did not long survive. The conqueror swept devastatingly over Syria, gathering spoils and captives, but without thought of setting up an organized dominion; only from Palmyra, on the border of the Syrian desert, came horsemen under their gallant leader Odenathus, who evaded battle, cut Sapor's communications and harassed his retreat over the Euphrates.

Gallienus, the unworthy son of an estimable though far from great father, was now sole emperor, save for the fact that an unfailing crop of claimants to the title was raised up in the provinces, at intervals of a few months, throughout his reign; though only nineteen of them can be counted, and most of them were tyrants only in the sense that they snatched at power by rebellion, tradition has labelled them the Thirty Tyrants.

The "Thirty" were for the most part forced into rebellion by the soldiery and removed by assassination. Only on Odenathus at Palmyra was the title of Augustus, with practically independent powers, bestowed by a grateful Senate and by Gal-

lienus himself—a title which on his death Odenathus passed on to his admirable and famous wife Zenobia. The whole wretched picture of the period is made the more ghastly by the fact that throughout it famine and plague raged from end to end of the anarchical Empire.

The end came when a general, Aureolus, invaded Italy at the head of the legions from the Rhine. Gallienus, who, like King John, was capable of occasional outbursts of startling energy, roused himself from the round of vicious indulgence to march against him, and shut him up in desperate plight in Milan. But the cup was full; a conspiracy was formed; Gallienus was enticed from his cups and slain. With his last words he nominated as his successor the very man whom the conspirators themselves had selected, the low-born but able Illyrian soldier Claudius (268).

The choice, ratified by the Senate and accepted by the legions, was justified by the event. Claudius would make no terms with the rebel in Milan save his unconditional surrender, nor did he interfere when the Senate condemned Aureolus to death; but he soon gained a reputation for clemency by issuing a general indemnity. His business was to save the Empire from the Goths, who had assembled a vast force computed at 320,000 men, carried on a vast fleet in the Black Sea, and were pouring into Macedon and Thrace. The great campaign against them involved

ABJECT SUBMISSION OF ROMAN EMPEROR TO PERSIAN KING

Under the tombs of the Achæmenids at Naksh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis, are a number of rock carvings. Very notable is this representation of the proudest moment in the career of Sapor I, when, mounted on horseback and wearing the royal crown and armor, he received the surrender of the Roman emperor, Valerian, who knelt before him suing for grace. This event occurred in 260, and thenceforward until his death the captive emperor suffered every humiliation at his conqueror's hands.

From Friedrich Sarre, "Die Kunst des Alten Persien"

heavy fighting and fierce battles; very definitely it was the supreme skill of the emperor's dispositions that finally won the decisive victory of Naissus and earned for him the title of Gothicus. In the next year (A.D. 270) the victor died of the prevailing pestilence, but he had named as his successor the best of his officers, a man probably of his own race, and of peasant birth like himself, Aurelian.

With the Goths Aurelian had effected a genuine pacification, but even while he was doing so the Alemanni were on the move again in great raiding contingents, pouring through the Rætian Alps into the plain of the Po. By a swift march up the Danube Aurelian caught the raiders as they were returning, and crushed their van on the north of the river while the rear was still on the south bank. The second body was enveloped; but, threatened with annihilation and unable to advance, it burst through to the south again. The Germans had the advantage in mobility, and it was only after a severe campaign and at least one defeat on Italian soil that Aurelian finally crushed them on the banks of the Metaurus; where nearly five centuries before Claudius Nero had fought and won the decisive battle of the Hannibalian war. Never in all those centuries had a foreign foe thrust so near to the heart of Italy; and there is a real significance in the fact that Aurelian was moved to raise a new wall of defense encircling Rome.

The overthrow of the Alemanni, following the Gothic pacification, seemed to promise a long period of security on the Rhine-Danube frontier. There remained beyond the borders of the Empire the insolent Persian, still unpunished for the devastation he had wrought and the humiliation he had inflicted. But before that matter could be taken in hand there was still the task of reconsolidating the Empire itself, which had fallen asunder during the period in which Gallienus reigned.

One general, Postumus, had set up a practically independent dominion in Gaul; his fourth successor, Tetricus, was now ruling in the West. In the East Zenobia, following Odenathus, not only claimed for herself the imperial title which had been legitimately bestowed on him, but was in fact recognized throughout the East and Egypt, which owed to Palmyra their preservation from the Persians. When, however, such a captain as Aurelian asserted himself, Zenobia, with all her very unusual abilities, her courage, her virtues and her beauty, could stand no chance against him. But Tetricus and Gaul took precedence.

In truth this self-styled emperor in Gaul and the West was only anxious to be relieved from a situation where he was anything but master. It would have cost him his life at the hands of the soldiery to make submission to Aurelian; but while making a show of defiance he was engaged in betraying the troops who were driving him on, with the result that Aurelian won a crushing victory near Châlons, and established his authority.

Then it was the turn of Zenobia. Dispatching his lieutenant Probus (afterwards emperor) to Egypt, which acknowledged Zenobia's sovereignty, Aurelian led the imperial troops against Palmyra. Zenobia and Zenobia's army offered a valiant but vain resistance. Palmyra itself was besieged. At last Zenobia's defiant courage broke down, and she was overtaken and captured in an attempted flight. Along with Tetricus the captive queen was displayed in the magnificent triumph which celebrated the victories of Aurelian and the restoration of the Empire in its completeness from the Euphrates to the Atlantic.

It remained to deal with Persia; and ere long a great expedition organized to that end was well on its way when the emperor fell a victim to a vile conspiracy. He was struck down (in A.D. 275) still in the fifth year of a reign which had been a succession of triumphs, not in a rebellion, but because a few guilty persons feared detection and exemplary punishment.

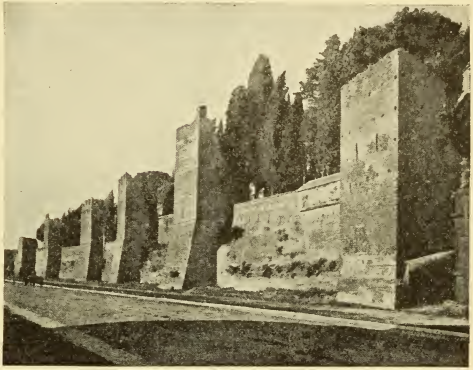
So well had Claudius and Aurelian restored discipline that the legions loyally awaited the Senate's dilatory choice of a new emperor. In character and capacity Tacitus, the successor eventually chosen, was no unworthy selection; but he was an old man, and he died on a campaign in Asia for which he was physically unfitted when he had reigned six months. Notwithstanding the pretensions of Florianus, Tacitus' brother, the claim of Probus—another Illyrian—to the Empire was formally submitted to, and confirmed by, the Senate (A.D. 276).

Probus, a most distinguished soldier, spent the six years of his reign in vigorous and successful campaigns, carried far across the Rhine, enlisting from the barbarians themselves large bodies of auxiliary troops in the service of Rome. But no series of successes could disguise the fundamental dangers of the situation. While Cæsar Augustus was constantly engaged personally on campaigns on one frontier, he could not give his personal attention to the other regions of the great Empire, where the most apparently trusty of lieutenants might prove a broken reed.

So it was now with Saturninus in the East. His legions forced him into a revolt, in which he neither expected nor desired to be successful. It collapsed before the advance of the imperial forces, as did one or two others still more futile. The trouble was that such performances were possible even when the emperor was a soldier so brilliant and a statesman so clement as Probus. Still more ominous was it that one so universally applauded by soldiers and civilians alike was slain in a sudden harebrained mutiny which had no better excuse than a rumor that the army was to be reduced (A.D. 281). With returning sanity the mutineers gave their allegiance to the Prætorian prefect Carus.

Probus had emphasized his loyalty to the constitution by his deference to the Senate. He had not, in form at least, usurped the principate; like Valerian and Claudius, he had taken the field as a champion of the constitution against a usurper, and, when acclaimed emperor by his troops, had submitted his title, for free acceptance or rejection, to the sovereign choice of the Senate at Rome; as emperor he had treated the senatorial authority with even exaggerated respect. But with his death, all this was at an end. The Prætorians proclaimed Carus; even the formal acquiescence of the Senate was hardly invited; its authority, always dependent on the imperial recognition, flickered out and was never again revived.

Carus, though advanced in years, was an able and experienced soldier. Leaving his elder son Carinus in the West with the title of Cæsar, he himself again took up he project of the Persian war. On the way eastward, marching through Illyricum, he inflicted a heavy defeat on a horde of Sarmatians, continued during the winter his advance through Thrace and Asia Minor, and in 283 conducted a triumphant campaign in Mesopotamia and even beyond the Tigris. There, being seized with sickness, his tent was struck by lightning during a terriffic thunderstorm; but whether it was the lightning or the illness or merely mortal agency that slew him, Carus perished in that storm. Though he would seem to have been not undeservedly popular, superstition elected to attribute his fate to the wrath of the gods of Persia; and the troops compelled his second son Numerian (on whom, as on Carinus, the title of Cæsar had been bestowed) to abandon the expedition, on



AURELIAN'S WALL, NEAR THE PORTA S. PAOLO

Aurelian began his new walls to defend Rome in 271 and they were completed under Probus in 280. They were more than twelve miles in circuit, were 60 feet high externally, were built of brick-faced concrete and had massive towers at intervals of about fifteen yards. Much of the wall still exists.

Photo, Anderson

which he had accompanied his father.

Numerian in the East was credited with both character and ability; but his health had broken down under the hardships of the Persian campaign. Though he accompanied his army in its withdrawal westward, he was constantly confined to a sick-

A ROMANCE OF HISTORY AND ITS HEROINE

The Syrian city of Palmyra reached its apogée under Odenathus. After his death, however, his widow, Zenobia (above), claiming independent sovereignty, was defeated and captured by Aurelian, and Palmyra fell. Splendid ruins, including this triple-gated triumphal arch, testify to its former greatness.

Coin from Bernoulli; photo, F. M. Good

bed, where he was rarely seen by anyone save Arrius Aper, the prætorian prefect, through whom passed all business, and indeed all communication with the outside world. At length the general suspicions became uncontrollable; soldiers forced their way into his pavilion, and found not a sick man but a corpse.

That Aper, whose daughter Numerian had married, was intriguing for the succession to the dying emperor there was no manner of doubt; whether he had deliberately compassed his son-in-law's death is another question on which the enraged soldiery, whose affections the dead prince had won, entertained no doubt. In a formal and orderly assembly of the army, the self-constituted council of the officers announced that they had chosen the captain of the bodyguard, Diocletian, to succeed and avenge Numerian. Aper was forthwith brought in chains before the new emperor who, there and then, calling the gods to witness the act of justice slew him with his own hand.

A few months later the tyrant Carinus was slain, by the dagger of a man whose wife he had seduced. Yet another Illyrian, of birth still humbler than were Claudius or Aurelian or Probus—for the parents of Diocletian were slaves—was on the throne of the Cæsars (A.D. 285).

The Emperor Diocletian inherited a difficult problem in the administration of the Roman Empire. The system of imperial finances had always been oppressive and had fostered greed and corruption. The reforms from Augustus to Claudius had improved matters somewhat but it was always possible for tax collectors and other financial manipulators and grafters to oppress the people. The sturdy, middle class Romans had become "for-

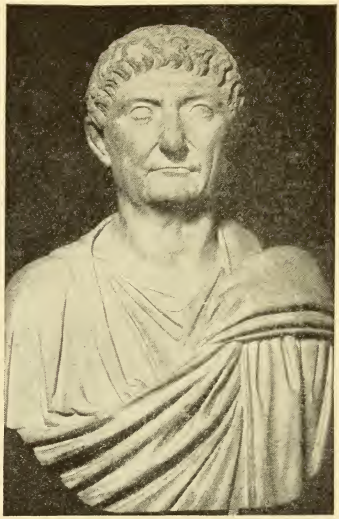
gotten men," left to the mercy of the ruthless plutocrats. By the time of Diocletian the emperors found that three centuries of incompetence and graft had all but ruined the richest portions of the globe.

Diocletian reconstructed the imperial system. In some respects his reconstruction was adapted for meeting an existing emergency, but not for permanence, and so far it broke down when he himself resigned the helm; but, in other respects, he was the founder of the system which enabled the Byzantine Empire to survive his death for more than eleven centuries.

THIS Illyrian "ranker," who had been chosen deliberately by the officers of the army in the East in solemn conclave assembled, not because he was their acting chief, but on his merits, must have been a man of the most impressive and individual personality. He had risen from the humblest position with no advantages of education, simply by character and ability, and he continued to exercise a complete mastery over men by no means inclined to recognize a master. He was entirely unfettered by precedents and conventions, though he made no war upon them as such. He opened his career as emperor by publicly slaying a criminal with his own hand; he ended it, as no man before him save Sulla had done, simply because he was tired of it.

One of the most conspicuous of Diocletian's acts, that which most appeals to the imagination and is most generally remembered in connection with his name, was the sharing of the imperial authority, first with one colleague who bore like himself the supreme title of Augustus, and then six years later with two more subordinate colleagues with the title of Cæsar, commonly bestowed on a designated heir.

IN 286 he had already made up his mind that the East and the West must be under separate military command and have separate Imperators, without splitting East and West into rival dominions. The dominion was to remain one, but under two emperors, the second of whom would never think of himself as a rival of the first, as would be only too likely if he were officially a satrap or viceroy; he must therefore be a colleague. The man for the place was Maximianus, a



REORGANIZER OF THE EMPIRE

Diocletian (b. 245) was proclaimed emperor by the troops in 284. A brilliant soldier and an able administrator, he virtually refounded the Roman Empire before his abdication in 305. He died in retirement at Salona in 313.

Capitoline Museum; photo, Anderson

mighty warrior but Diocletian's devoted admirer, and, almost inevitably, an Illyrian or Pannonian, who would certainly defer to his colleague's judgment on any doubtful question. The partition into East and West was a personal arrangement, and if one of the emperors died there could be no question of a disputed succession. Meanwhile, Maximian should have charge of the West, the senior emperor that of the East, with a general supervision of the whole.

The scheme worked well; for the fancy names the two chose to assume, Jovius and Herculius, were expressive; Hercules was the heroic instrument of Jove the omnipotent. The harmony was complete. It worked so well that in 292 the principle was extended. Each of the emperors took a subordinate colleague; the Augustus would in each case be ultimately succeeded

by his Cæsar, who, meanwhile, was Imperator in half of his half of the Empire. For the western Cæsar was chosen that Constantius whom Carus was said to have determined to appoint his own successor; for the eastern, Diocletian's able but brutal son-in-law Galerius. Maximian had Italy and Africa, Constantius had Gaul, Britain and probably Spain, Galerius the Balkans, and Diocletian Asia with Egypt. The arrangement remained in force, and continued to work well, till A.D. 305, when Diocletian himself chose to abdicate and to compel the reluctant Maximian to do the same. Then began the rivalries inevitable sooner or later under such a system.

This experiment collapsed when it had served its turn; as it was bound to do. But other features of Diocletian's system were enduring. He made Asia the pivotal center of the Empire instead of Italy (where Maximian made Milan instead of Rome his capital), preparing the way for Constantine to plant its headquarters at Byzantium. He obliterated the fiction that the Empire was a modification of the old Republic, or indeed was anything other than an unqualified despotism. He gave the imperial court an Oriental character foreign to all tradition. The functions of the Senate, even as a deliberative body concerned with the affairs of the commonwealth, disappeared.

The most complete change, however, was in the development of the administrative system, severing the military and the civil functions. The first Claudius had indeed laid the foundations of a bureaucratic system which had done much towards preserving the routine of government; but it was insignificant in comparison with the network of officialdom which grew up under the new order, when civil and military functions ceased to be discharged by the same officers. The continuous uninterrupted working of the civil machinery which resulted was one of the most material forces in preserving the Empire from dissolution. For some years the north Germans had been developing piratical fleets in the harbors and estuaries of the North Sea, whence they raided the Roman provinces of Gaul and Britain. Those fleets were successfully checked only when Maximian placed in command of a defense squadron Carausius, a daring sailor, probably of the Belgæ. He held up the pirates, but was charged with appropriating the recovered booty to his own ends; whereupon, instead of meeting the charge, he crossed the Channel and was hailed with acclamation when he proclaimed himself emperor of Britain. Holding the seas he could defy invasion and threaten to raise insurrection in Gaul. For the time it was worth while for the Roman emperors to accept the accomplished fact and come to an agreement with him, acknowledging him as a partner; for Africa and Egypt demanded their active attention.

Carausius ruled with vigor and success. But by 292 Maximian had overcome the tribesmen of Mauretania and Diocletian had restored order in Egypt. They appointed the Cæsars Constantius and Galerius, and resolved to remove their unwelcome colleague in the north; but they failed, because they could by no means cross the Channel. Their work was done for them, however, when Carausius was assassinated by his ambitious but incompetent lieutenant Allectus in 293. In 296 the lieutenant of Constantius evaded the fleet of Allectus, effected a landing in Britain, and easily crushed the usurper; a tyrant who depended not, like Carausius, on loyal subjects, but on bands of hired Frankish adventurers. No reconquest was called for; the whole province welcome Constantius on his arrival, and continued to prosper under his able and enlightened rule till his death in A.D. 306.

Diocletian, however, found another Persian war forced upon him. For Tiridates, the son of that Chosroes of Armenia who was the ally of Alexander Severus, had recovered the kingdom from which he had been ejected when an infant by the Persian Sapor, but was now again driven out by Narses, a descendant of Sapor. Rome could not be deaf to the appeal of her ally and protégé. In 297 Galerius was summoned from the Danube to take the field as Diocletian's lieutenant on the Euphrates. Overrashness brought on him a heavy defeat at Carrhæ, from which he barely escaped with his life. He was, however, allowed to redeem the disaster by another campaign, in which he won a decisive victory, enabling Diocletian to dictate a treaty which the Persian could accept without humiliation, followed by a peace of forty years.

It was perhaps the sense that the Christian Church was an organization apart from the state, and demanding from its members an obedience which might be inconsistent with obedience to the state, that caused Diocletian to let loose the severest persecution to which that body, for some time almost immune, had yet been subjected.

In this persecution there is no doubt that he was urged on by his half-barbarian colleagues Maximian and Galerius; Constantius, a man of cultivation and superior birth and breeding, would have nothing to do with it in his quarter of the Empire.

The persecution was in full swing when Diocletian, at the height of his power and prestige, resigned the imperial diadem which Aurelian had been the first to assume, and retired to cultivate his garden unencumbered by cares of state (A.D. 305). Maximian, overborne by his colleague's stronger will, resigned at the same time. Galerius and Constantius automatically became Augusti, and two new Cæsars took their places. Ignoring the claims of Constantine the son of Constantius, and Maxentius the son of Maximian, Diocletian, by his last public act, confirmed the selection made by Galerius of his nephew Daza, better known as Maximan, and an undistinguished adherent, Severus.

The reforms of Diocletian ultimately proved a failure because the grafting landlords persisted in resisting any effort at reform. They were incredibly short-sighted, refused to play ball with Diocletian, and resisted all efforts to promote justice and stability. The rich evaded new taxes as well as the old ones so that all the tax burden fell on the middle class, which was crushed out. Roman society came to be divided into a very few anti-social rich at the top and a city rabble and servile peasantry at the bottom. The classical scholar, Samuel Dill, tells us how in the years following the reign of Diocletian, "in a society in which poverty was almost branded with infamy, poverty was steadily increasing and wealth becoming more insolent and aggressive."

CONSTANTIUS retained the western division, his headquarters being at Augusta Trevirorum, the modern Trèves or Trier. Galerius took the Danube and Asia Minor. Severus was sent to Milan, Maximin to the East. Constantine, who was now thirty-three and had already distinguished himself in the Eastern wars, hastened to join his father, whose health was very precarious. Fifteen months later, in 306, Constantius died at York, and Constantine was able to inform Galerius that he had been compelled by the legions to accept the succession without waiting for formal appointment. Galerius dared only to ratify his accession as the junior Cæsar, while Severus became the second Augustus.

Constantine, however, was not the only person dissatisfied. Maximian was thirsting to resume the honors he had so unwillingly resigned. The Roman Senate wanted to reassert itself, and, incited no doubt by the ex-emperor, proclaimed his son Maxentius Augustus. Maximian emerged from his retirement to support his son with his own military ability and prestige. Severus, marching hot-foot from Milan, found that Rome was already lost, and fled to Ravenna, but was tricked by Maximian into surrender, and was then required to end his own life. Maximian then himself resumed the title he had resigned, and, to win from Constantine the support he could hardly afford not to give, offered him his daughter Fausta in marriage, and the title of Augustus. Constantine accepted both offers, but without committing himself too deeply. Maximian prepared to defend Italy against the impending invasion of Galerius.

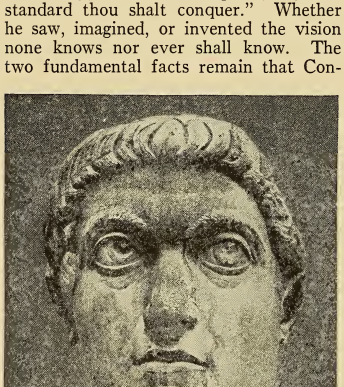
Galerius with his legions from Illyricum came, saw, and—retreated. All Italy was against him, and could only be won by a long series of sieges, which was out of the question. Returning to the East, he handed over the command in Illyria to his countryman and friend Licinius, nominating him Augustus in the room of Severus. Thereupon Maximin demanded and extorted from him the higher title instead of that of Cæsar; so that there were now six claimants to the name of Augustus.

Then in 308 Maximian and his son quarreled, the soldiery declared for Maxentius, and for two years Maximian, refused an asylum by Galerius but harbored by Constantine, intrigued to recover power, till his repeated treacheries drove his son-in-law to require him to die as Severus had died. In the following year (311) Galerius too died of a loathsome

disease, having retained his supremacy in the East undisputed to the end. His last act, whether dictated by remorse or by superstition, was the repeal of the persecuting decree against the Christians.

Of the four surviving Augusti three had no present desire to challenge a struggle for supremacy. But when it became obvious that Maxentius was preparing to attack Constantine, the iniquities of the rule of the former in Africa and Italy warranted his rival in anticipating the blow and striking first, in the character of liberator. In 312 he swooped through the Alps, shattered two opposing armies at Turin and Verona, and finally wiped out Maxentius under the walls of Rome at the decisive battle of the Mulvian Bridge.

Tradition, resting on statements made by Constantine himself, affirms that he had seen a vision of the Cross displayed in the sky, with the inscription, "by this standard thou shalt conquer." Whether he saw, imagined, or invented the vision none knows nor ever shall know. The two fundamental facts remain that Constantine made himself the champion not of the Christian creed, but of the Christian body, and that he did not become a member of the Christian body by the rite of baptism till twenty-five years had passed. He accepted and retained the official dignity of Pontifex Maximus, high priest of the immemorial religion of Rome, and he sanctioned his own deification; but he placed Christianity in the category of religions sanctioned and no longer proscribed officially; and once that was done the magnificent organization of the Church, a brotherhood spread over the whole Empire, insured that it should have no rival. No other religion had that element of brotherhood.



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

Constantine I began his reign in the West in 306, and by his defeat of Licinius in 323 became sole master of the Empire, when he transferred his seat of empire to Byzantium (Constantinople, dedicated in 330). He died May 22, 337.

Conservatori, Rome; photo, Brogi

Maximin, utterly crushed in a swift campaign, died by his own hand. The families of Maxentius and Maximin alike were obliterated by the two victors. After the year 313 there were only two emperors, one in the East and one in the West.

Ten years later there was only one emperor. As early as 314 Constantine found reason or excuse for attacking Licinius, but the forces of the rivals were so evenly matched that after one indecisive campaign, somewhat in Constantine's favor, they came to terms, fixing a boundary which left Licinius no more than a corner of Europe. For the next nine years Constantine was administering the West, completing the reorganization of the governmental machinery and of the army, and preparing for the final contest with Licinius. While Constantine was welding his subjects together and winning their confidence, Licinius was alienating the forces which were in the ascendant but were already in his eyes engaged on the side of his adversary. When the crash came he made it a battle between Christianity and the old paganism, of which he posed as the champion in spite of his record in 313—and the fight, though stubborn, was fought and finished in the course of the single year 323. The fallen emperor shared the fate of Maximian and Severus. Never had any man enjoyed power so vast and at the same time so utterly undisputed as Constantine during the fourteen years of life that remained to him.

In the nine years when Constantine was undisputed master in the West, but only in Europe and Africa (in which we must

remember that Roman terminology did not include Egypt), besides elaborating civil administration and reforming the army, he and his son Crispus had waged victorious wars against Germans and Goths, whose aggressions had been renewed. Not less vitally important, however, was the fact that an entirely new relation was established or inaugurated between the monarchy and the hitherto officially unrecognized or actually proscribed Christian Church.

Constantius had realized that there were no more law-abiding subjects than the Christians; Constantine had discovered that the support of the Church was politically valuable. The result was a sort of informal concordat, the Church cementing its association with an emperor who was almost persuaded to be a Christian by appealing to him as arbiter on certain pressing questions of Church discipline on which it was divided; with the further effect that on the one hand what had been a purely religious brotherhood acquired a great and increasing political influence, while on the other the state invested itself with powers of ecclesiastical legislation.

The seal was placed on the new order when in A.D. 324 Constantine confirmed and extended the edict of Milan by a final edict of toleration, and in the following year presided over the General Council of the Church at Nicæa, which repudiated though it could not crush the Arian doctrine—henceforth condemned as "heresy"—concerning the Mystery of the Holy Trinity which continued to divide the Christian world for centuries to come.

Constantine reigned for twelve more years, till his death in 337, giving completeness to the system of which Diocletian had laid the foundations; but A.D. 330 has been taken as the terminal year of this Chronicle, as the moment when Rome yielded place to Constantinople as capital of the Empire, which remained in being for eleven centuries more. Rome indeed had lost her primacy when Diocletian took up his own headquarters in the East, at Nicomedia. Constantine recognized the essential fact. But in his final struggle with Licinius he had learned the enormous strategical value of Byzantium on the strait separating Asia from Europe; its commercial value was already conspicuous, though it was only one of the minor cities of the Empire.

He resolved to make it the Imperial City; for five years he planned and builded; he gave it his own name, the City of Constantine. In 330 the work was completed, with a lavish magnificence, and from that time, though lip-service continued to be rendered to the dignity of the city on the Tiber, the city on the Bosporus was in fact the New Rome.

While Alexander Severus was reigning in the West and Ardashir was transforming the Parthian into the Persian dominion, the Han dynasty in China was wiped out and the empire was divided (220-265) for the period of the "Three Kingdoms"—North, South and West—after which it was more or less reunited under the western Chin dynasty (265-317), which in turn gave place to the eastern Chins. In central Asia the nondescript Scythian tribes of diverse races, mainly perhaps Mongol, owned no masters for long, but warred promiscuously with each other or with their neighbors to south, east, or west; by turns acknowledging or repudiating the sovereignty of the Chinese overlord. The great westward eruption of the Huns was to come in the fifth century.

TRADE AND COMMERCE OF THE ROMAN WORLD

A STUDY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MEDITERRANEAN LANDS UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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COMPARATIVELY early in the history of Rome her government had from time to time been forced to consider the interests of trade. She took vigorous measures to deal with Etruscan pirates before the annexation of her first transmarine province. The Greek commercial cities of southern Italy, though they acquired the Roman citizenship only in the first century B.C., had long been allies of Rome and had looked to her to protect their interests. It is clear that the successes of the Roman Republic brought economic advantage to her allies at least as much as to her own citizens.

The Italians who controlled the free port of Delos, which after the fall of Corinth in 146 B.C. was the center of trade in the Aegean, were almost entirely natives of the Greek cities, and it was a matter of small importance that they were not technically Roman citizens. Rome's success as leader of an Italian confederacy was due to the fact which later made her a successful ruler of the civilized world. Her Italian subjects were convinced that her interests were theirs; and that the ideal of a united Italy was a glorious one. The conquests of Rome were rarely due to a desire for gain, and her wars were seldom the result of "capitalist" pressure. The economic advantages which resulted from her victories she shared with her subjects.

A LESS favorable judgement of the character of Roman imperialism is not unreasonably formed by those who have concentrated their attention on the last century of the Republic, a period about which we happen to have much information. During this century the Roman government was at its worst. The authority of the Senate had been completely undermined, and the great generals who struggled for supremacy were too much occupied in securing power for themselves to pay much attention to the good government of the Roman world.

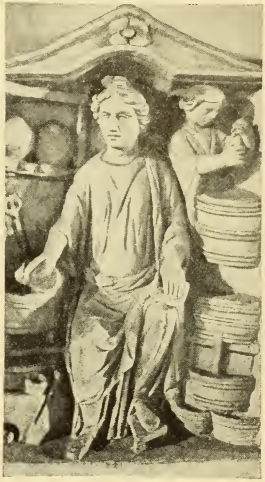
Under these conditions opportunities for aggrandizement were open to unscrupulous men of every class. The provinces were exploited in the interests of individuals, and impoverished by the irregular demands for men and money imposed by the Roman generals. Enormous wealth was acquired by a small class of Italians, who regarded the provincials simply as a source of revenue. The success of Augustus in putting an end to this period of chaos and anarchy must have been welcome even to men of republican principles.

It was then impossible for Roman rule to bring prosperity to the world unless a strong government was established in Rome itself, and it was fortunate for the world that the system established by Augustus was for more than two hundred years never seriously challenged. The excesses of a Nero or a Domitian affected a comparatively small class, whose point of view is unduly prominent in the literature of the time. The chaos following the death of Nero was a practical illustration of the necessity for stable government. The "Roman Peace" which was made possible by the victory of Augustus over Antony brought in its train unparalleled economic prosperity, and the first two centuries of the principate can be regarded as one of history's golden ages.

THE advantages that Roman rule brought to Gaul were conferred equally upon Britain, upon the provinces along the Danube, and upon regions such

as Mauretania, which were annexed in the first instance to serve as buffers between civilization and barbarism. At first, it is true, there was discontent in many quarters, and Rome was called upon to suppress "nationalist" movements, such as the Pannonian rising of A.D. 6, the Gallic risings of A.D. 21 and 69, and the British revolt under Boadicea in A.D. 60; but as the advantages of Roman rule were realized such troubles became exceedingly rare. Rome maintained her control of newly conquered provinces by securing the adhesion of influential individuals. Caesar conferred citizen rights on Gallic nobles, who, by the time of Claudius, were clamoring for admission to the Senate itself. The centers of emperor worship served as rallying-points for the friends of Rome in the provinces. Thus the altar of *Roma et Augustus*, set up at Lyons in 12 B.C., saw the "loyalists" meet year by year in the *concilium Galliarum* (Council of the Gauls), and hold in turn the dignified office of provincial priest. This very political form of religion played a similar part in other provinces, and it is significant that the fury of Boadicea's followers was specially directed against the temple of the deified Claudius at Colchester.

While the measures which have been described—the gift of the citizenship and membership of the provincial councils—served to win for Rome the loyalty of the more politically minded inhabitants of newly conquered districts, the devotion of a different stratum of the population was secured by the economic advantages which followed from Roman rule. Traders from Mediterranean lands had, indeed, penetrated into Britain and Gaul long before their annexation, but their activities were irregular and risky. An immediate result of Roman conquest was the opening up of new markets and the development of the natural resources of economically backward countries; Gaul, for instance, as a consequence of peace and improved communications, became by the second century one of the richest provinces of the Empire. The very presence on the Rhine of a large Roman army brought much money into the country, for the government seems to have purchased from the local inhabitants all the supplies that were required by the troops.

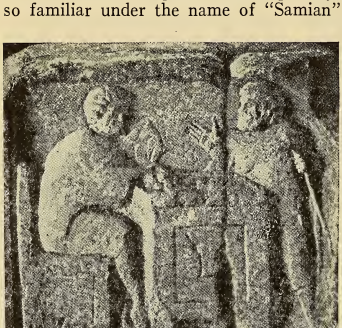


INDUSTRY IN ROMAN GAUL IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

In Gaul especially did trade prosper under the Roman aegis. These bas-reliefs show (left) a cobbler astride his bench making a shoe and (right) what may be either a pharmacy or a soap factory—Gallic soap was largely used as a hair dye—with a woman stirring the contents of a basin over a stove.

Reims, Epinal and Rouen; photos, 'Les archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire'

ROME'S commercial policy, as will be shown, was a generous one. Rarely was any attempt made to foster Italian trade and industry at the expense of the provinces; indeed, in Gaul and elsewhere Italian imports were sometimes ousted from the market by native products. For instance, before the end of the first century A.D. the red glazed Gallic pottery, so familiar under the name of "Samian"



CAPITAL AND LABOR IN GAUL

This relief depicts a business man seated at his desk, on which he is pouring out coins from a purse—paying or perhaps lending money to the peasant client talking eagerly on the other side of the table.

Sens and Arlon Museums

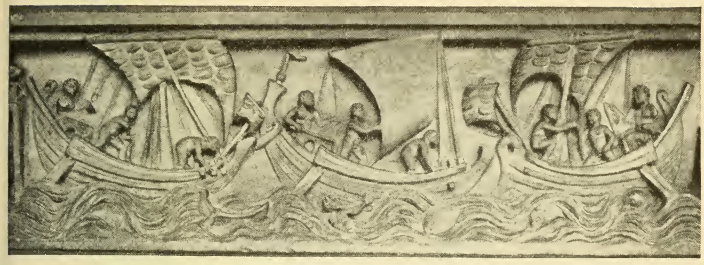
to visitors to Roman museums, had completely superseded the Italian ware of the same character, and was exported to other provinces and even to Italy itself. This is only one example of the industrial and commercial activities of Gaul. The wine trade and the clothing industry, illustrated by the famous monuments of Trèves, were equally important. Full use was made of the facilities for transport provided by the river system, and at the chief centers the sailors organized themselves into guilds which have left many records. The Romans improved the roads and facilitated the movement not merely of troops but of traders.

In this chapter we are primarily concerned with the commercial policy of Rome, and only secondarily with her political generosity and her administrative genius. This policy was an extremely liberal one; the principle of "free trade within the Empire" was accepted and consistently acted upon. The import and export dues which were levied on certain frontiers consisted in a fixed proportion of the value of the goods, and were not intended to be protective. The products of Italian industry were, as we have seen, forced to compete on equal terms with provincial rivals, and were sometimes defeated in the contest.

The economic policy of the government must have been affected by the fact that it was itself a large purchaser of goods, and thus had a motive for fostering cheap production. The presence of the Rhine army stimulated production in Gaul, and the same can doubtless be said of the other provinces in or near which Roman troops were stationed. In the third century A.D., as in the first century B.C., the presence of troops was a curse rather than a blessing, but this was because the prevalence of civil war, the weakness of the central government and the depreciation of the coinage had revived the practice of forced requisitions. Between Augustus and the Antonines supplies required by the government from provincials were normally paid for, and it was the duty of governors, as we know in the case of Agricola, to prevent individuals from making undue profit out of the provision of corn for the soldiers. In Rome itself the government, being responsible for the feeding of the city, required large supplies of grain Much of this was furnished gratis by the provinces of Egypt and Africa, which paid their tribute in kind; but a large part of what was needed had to be paid for, and the government was concerned with the regulation of the price.

NOW, a government responsible for feeding and clothing so many men must have been interested in means of transport. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that shipowners were encouraged by the Roman government; Nero exempted ships from property tax, and emperors of the second century conferred privileges on their owners, notably freedom from the burdens which were already falling on the shoulders of municipal senators.

Under the favorable conditions prevailing in the early principate enormous



MERCHANTMEN ENGAGED IN THE OVERSEAS TRADE

In the second century of our era the overseas trade with Rome attained vast dimensions. The bulk of it was in foodstuffs, especially corn, wine and oil, and the largest customer was the imperial government, which granted special protection and privileges to the 'collegia,' or guilds, of merchants and shipowners. The official relations of these guilds with the government are indicated by the Corporation Hall and the vast storehouses for the imperial 'annona' at Ostia.

Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

wealth was acquired by individual provincials, most of whom derived it from some form of trade or industry; many of their names have survived on inscriptions recording donations made to philanthropic objects. To an enterprising provincial the whole world was open. Traders from the eastern provinces were familiar in Gaul and Britain, and representatives of all parts of the Roman Empire met in such centers as Lyons, Aquileia or Antioch. For probably the first time in history the Mediterranean was practically free from pirates, thanks to the Roman fleet. If journeys by land were still not without their dangers, it must be remembered how much safer it was to travel in Asia Minor in the days of St. Paul than it was yesterday, and how very recently the highwayman has disappeared from England and the United States.

Another advantage which Roman rule conferred on the world was a stable and uniform currency, the collapse of which in the third century produced ruin and misery.

With conditions thus favorable, interprovincial trade flourished during the first two centuries of the Christian era. Almost all the necessities of life could be produced somewhere in the Roman Empire, and districts which required imports had generally something to export in return. Thus Italy, which imported corn, exported wine; and in most provinces there was a demand for the olive oil of Spain and Africa, for the linen, paper and glass of Alexandria and Syria, and for the metals of Spain and the Danubian provinces. It is probable that not till

MAN-POWER FOR BARGES ON THE MOSELLE

Augusta Trevirorum—the modern Trèves—was the first Roman city on the Moselle, and was organized as a colony about A.D. 50. It speedily became the economic center of the rich district of the Moselle and the Meuse, where agriculture, cattle-breeding and viticulture, and also textile and other industries, were developed on capitalistic lines. This relief from the pillar monument of the Secundini family at Igel, near Trèves, shows two men towing a barge laden with heavy merchandise up the Moselle.

From Esperandieu, 'Recueil générale des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine'

the 19th century did greater facilities exist for the disposal of raw materials and manufactures in comparatively distant markets.

But the traders of this period did not confine their activities within the limits of the Roman Empire. Finds of Roman coins in North Germany, Poland and even Scandinavia show that Roman trade penetrated into these regions. Amber from the Baltic continued to reach the Mediterranean in large quantities, and elaborate arrangements for the collection of customs on the Danube prove the existence of considerable commerce with the barbarians.

More important than her trade with the North was the trade of the Roman Empire with the East. This was essentially concerned with such luxuries

MERCHANTMAN FROM UTICA

Utica threw in its lot with Rome in the Third Punic War, and after the fall of Carthage it became a free city, and later a Roman colony. Until its harbor silted up it was a busy seaport.

British Museum

as silk, perfumes, ivory and pepper. During the early principate commerce with India was fostered by the Roman government, which was on friendly terms with the native rulers, and the study of geographical handbooks shows that by the second century a fair amount of information was available about regions as distant as the Malay Peninsula. In spite of the barrier presented by the Parthian Empire, Roman merchants managed to penetrate into the heart of Asia and reach the borders of China in search of the silk which fashionable society coveted.

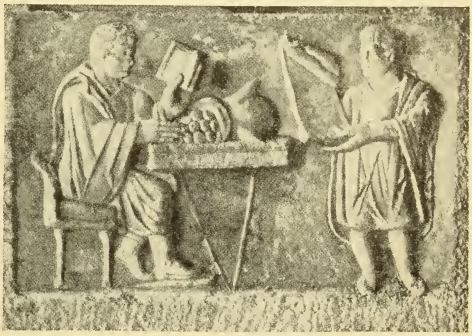
The picture which has been drawn of the economic conditions of the Roman Empire is a very favorable one, but most of what has been said is, unfortunately, true only of the earlier part of its history. The three conditions essential to economic prosperity—stable government, internal peace and a sound currency—which were established by Augustus, may be said to have continued almost till the extinction of the dynasty of the Severi in A.D. 235, though signs of the approaching disaster had not been wanting. During the fifty years that followed the death of Alexander Severus in 235 the imperial title was borne by nearly as many individuals as during the two centuries and a half which had preceded, and the Roman Empire was the scene not only of civil strife, but of invasions by barbarian tribes, who took advantage of its internal troubles to overrun its territories.

The result of all this was an impoverishment from which the Empire never completely recovered even under the more stable government of the fourth century. In the second century wealthy provincials had been able to buy imported luxuries and make generous donations to the cities in which they lived. In the later Empire such wealthy men as survived were exposed to the ruthless demands of the tax-collector, and the mass of the population was too poor to purchase more than the cheap products of local industry. The state tended to monopolize the activities of the shipowners, who were organized in guilds with hereditary membership and were required to provide for the needs of the government under conditions imposed from above. There was little scope for enterprise under a system of state socialism.

The well-nigh complete cessation of the Roman gold coinage in the third century produced a phenomenon with which Europe has been very familiar since the Great War, but which was quite new to the ancient world. Trade was rendered almost impossible, and we find a revival of the system of barter which Tacitus, when he wrote of Germany, regarded as a feature of barbarism. The system of taxation which had caused few complaints in the first and second centuries had to be altered. The policy of demanding from their subjects payments in kind, which the earlier emperors had employed but sparingly, became normal, and was con-

tinued by the emperors of the fourth century in spite of the improvement in the currency.

It is impossible to suppose that the later Roman emperors were not aware of the disastrous effect on the economic life of the Empire which was involved in their method of taxation, and it is only fair to recognize that they had to face problems unknown to their more fortunate predecessors. In the first two centuries of the Christian era the danger of barbarian invasion was not a serious one, and a comparatively small army distributed along the frontiers was able to maintain the safety of the Empire and to enable its inhabitants to acquire wealth and civilization. In the later days the very existence of the Empire was at stake, and those who were responsible for its defence considered themselves justified in using all the means at their disposal for the successful performance of their stupendous task.



ROMAN BANKERS IN THE PROVINCES

Wherever Roman colonization extended, the banker became a familiar figure. Here we see a Roman banker in Pannonia, counting his day's takings; and, above, another with two Roman clerks receiving payment from Celtic peasants of the Moselle.

Trèves and Belgrade Museums

The prosperity of the period that elapsed between Augustus and the Antonines was due not only to the wise policy of the government but to the existence of conditions making it possible to maintain the *Pax Romana* without overstraining the resources of the Empire.

BRITAIN AS A ROMAN PROVINCE

CIVIL AND MILITARY LIFE IN ONE OF THE FOREIGN LANDS ON WHICH ROME IMPOSED HER SWAY AND HER CIVILIZATION

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THE Romans were a practical people, and their Empire was built on eminently practical lines. Throughout all the centuries of its long life it retained the character stamped on it by its founder Augustus, whose ideal has been well described as the creation of "a commonwealth of self-governing cities." Its forty-five provinces, each organized as a separate unit, fell into two main classes—those exposed to the risk of barbarian attack and, therefore, requiring a garrison to defend them, and those which were so situated that they could afford to dispense with military protection. The former were under the direct supervision of the emperor as commander-in-chief of the army. The latter were controlled, nominally at least, through the medium of the Senate. While this distinction involved considerable differences in matters of lesser import, it left unaffected the fundamental principles which regulated the policy of the central administration. Of these not the least noteworthy was a readiness to adapt the form of government to local conditions. Imperial and senatorial provinces alike enjoyed a generous measure of "home rule."

In the circumstances no one province can be said to have been typical of the whole. Least of all would the epithet be appropriate for "the Northern Island sunder'd once from all the human race." The soil of Britain was relatively poor, while its climate was woefully unlike that of the more favored lands which fringed the Mediterranean basin. Vineyards and olive groves were unknown. Corn did, indeed, ripen, but its growth was less luxuriant, its harvesting more precarious than under kindlier skies.

Nevertheless, in certain districts the country was quickly peopled. Thus Julius Caesar writes of the "infinite multitude" of its inhabitants and says that their dwelling-houses were "very closely planted." As he adds that they possessed a "great number" of sheep and cattle, we may infer that it was a nation of shepherds and herdsmen which successfully resisted his invasions. It is hardly likely that in this respect any substantial change had taken place by A.D. 43, the date of the Claudian conquest, despite the civilizing process that had gone on steadily in the interval, as the result of growing contact with a Romanized Gaul.

DURING the subsequent occupation agriculture must have been more scientifically developed, and lead was extensively worked in various districts. Otherwise Britain's natural resources remained almost untapped, for coal-mining was unknown and the vast supplies of metal that the Empire demanded were drawn chiefly from Spain and the region of the Danube.

Even in its golden age, then, Roman Britain could not pretend to vie with its continental neighbors, Gaul and Spain, in wealth and luxury. The current of its intellectual life, too, ran more slowly. Yet it offers a singularly instructive field of study to those who would appreciate the work of Rome. On the one hand, it was an imperial province, and provides an illuminating glimpse of the mighty instrument by which barbarism was kept at bay from the Caspian across Europe to the shores of the Western Ocean: nowhere is there a more impressive monument of the Empire's defences than the Tyne and Solway frontier. On the other hand, securely sheltered by the army,

much of the island enjoyed in normal times complete tranquillity, and there the march of civilization encountered no impediment: southern England and the Midlands became more or less thoroughly Romanized, and from their remains we learn what Romanization meant.

Roughly, the boundary may be defined as running from the Humber, by way of Chester, to the Bristol Channel. To the north and west lay the military area. The bleak expanse which fills so much of what is now northern England and southern Scotland was ill adapted to support a population devoted to the arts of peace as practiced in the ancient world; for restless tribes of hunters and marauders it must have been ideal. The same is true of Wales.

Here, accordingly, we find Roman soldiers standing to their arms—the legions in fortresses at York and Chester and Caerleon-upon-Usk, the auxiliary cohorts in forts among the moors and hills beyond. This method of distribution did not apply to Britain only; it was characteristic of the imperial provinces generally. The legionaries constituted the real fighting strength of the army, and they were concentrated at carefully selected points close to the outer edge of the more settled portion of the country. But the Roman government could not afford to waste its most costly troops in mere guerilla war-

PLOUGHING WITH OXEN

This bronze statuette, found at Piercebridge (Durham), gives a faithful picture of a British peasant in the days of the Roman occupation. The ploughman's hooded cloak is characteristically Celtic.

British Museum

HADRIAN'S WALL THAT KEPT OUT THE BARBARIANS

In the middle distance of this photograph is Housesteads 'mile-castle,' with the Wall in front of it running west towards the summit of Winshields Crag (1,230 feet). The Wall, which extended from Tyne to Solway (73 miles), is 8 feet broad. Originally it was at least 12 or 14 feet high, and probably had a 4-foot breastwork on the north. It was defended by seventeen larger forts, smaller castles at every mile, and two turrets between each pair of mile-castles. The date is c. A.D. 125. A map of the wall is given overleaf.

Photo, John Gibson, Hexham

BRITAIN WHEN IT WAS A ROMAN PROVINCE

Roman Britain was divided for administrative purposes into two distinct areas. The hilly and difficult region of the north and west—the military area—was guarded by the legionary fortresses of Caerleon, Chester and York, and was studded with smaller forts which were garrisoned by auxiliary regiments. The more level and fertile region of the south and east—the civil area—contained the towns and country houses. Both areas were covered by a network of roads.

Based on the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain, by permission

fare. For that the less expensive auxiliaries were sufficient. They served as a buffer between the legions and the foe without.

Beyond the legionary fortresses, therefore, stretched a wide belt of territory, intersected by a network of strategic roads and guarded at regular intervals by forts or *castella,* varying in size but usually capable of accommodating a single auxiliary cohort with a nominal strength of five hundred or a thousand men. On the

extreme fringe of this debatable land, again, was the *limes imperii,* the actual frontier of the Empire. The *limes* might be a broad river like the Danube, or it might be an artificial barrier like the Wall between Tyne and Solway or the shorter-lived rampart between Forth and Clyde. In either case it, too, was protected by a chain of similar castella, planted sufficiently near to one another to make communication easy. Permanently quartered in these castella, the auxiliaries acted as a sort of military police, maintaining the "Roman peace" on the marches, intercepting smugglers, and checking the raids of filibusters from beyond the pale. And, when occasion arose, they had a sterner task to perform, for it was on them that the brunt of the first onset of a frontier war fell.

A more detailed description of the areas can best begin with the military zone. When not engaged in warfare or on field works, the legions spent their time in barracks, each in its own particular fortress. Of the three legions included in the normal garrison of the island, the Second was stationed at Caerleon, the Sixth at York and the Twentieth at Chester. At York and Chester cathedral cities now cover the site of the Roman fortresses; in both cases, although the course of the defending walls has been approximately determined, the plan of the interior is buried beyond hope of recovery. At Caerleon, on the other hand, it has been possible to learn something by scientific excavation.

So far as direct evidence goes, we can say little, except that in Britain, as often elsewhere, the legionary fortresses were near or on the banks of rivers, that they enclosed a space of about fifty acres, and that they were of the usual shape—oblong with rounded corners. It is, however, certain that their arrangements conformed generally to those of similar fortresses in other parts of the Empire. Outside the gates was the civil settlement, where were accommodated women and children, traders and time-expired veterans. Outside, too, were temples and places of recreation, like public baths, and an amphitheatre, such as that of which the ruins are still visible at Caerleon.

Much more is known about the auxiliary forts, quite a number of which have been carefully examined. They vary in size from eight or nine acres to two-and-a-half or even less, the majority lying somewhere between these extremes. In plan each of them was a legionary fortress in miniature. As, however, they were more liable to sudden attack, their defences were relatively stronger; some of those in North Britain were girt by as many as five or six ditches. Another difference was the larger space allotted to the storehouses; the risk of communications being cut was greater, and as a precaution each fort was provisioned for a year.

The harvest of relics recovered by the spade enables us to form some idea of how their occupants lived. We can even see them at play on gala days when the horsemen indulged in a sport very like the medieval tournament; the weapons used were of wood, and the jousters were gaily apparelled and wore richly ornamented helmets with masks. Abundant remains of decorated pottery and a few elegant bronze decanters point to high standard of comfort among the officers.

Shoes of all sizes, down to the tiniest, trinkets, weaving-combs, children's toys and the like bear silent witness to the presence of the soldiers' wives and families. Some of these latter objects are identical with those found on native sites, and not a few of them bear the stamp of unmistakable British craftsmanship. We may infer that there was much coming and going, that intermarriage was common. The influence of all this must have been mutual. Even in the outlying districts the Britons would in course of time become to some extent Romanized.

Although it was played upon an ampler stage, life in the legionary fortresses was doubtless essentially the same as life in the lonelier outposts. While the two classes of soldier differed in status, they nevertheless had much in common. Both consisted of long-service men, and both were subject to the same iron discipline. The auxiliaries became Roman citizens when they received their discharge, and the legionaries were Roman citizens from the outset—Roman citizens, however, only in the same sense as were St. Paul and the chief captain who proposed to scourge him. They were not natives of Rome in any sense of the word.

The higher officers, it is true, usually

CAERLEON'S AMPHITHEATRE

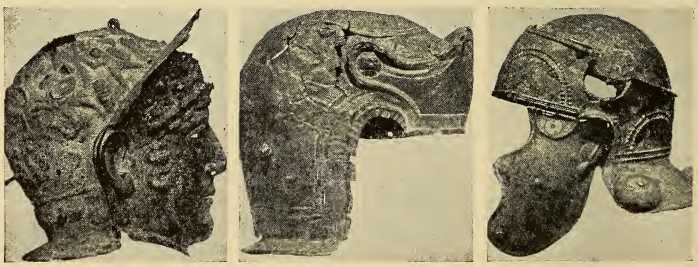
Most imposing of the Roman remains at Caerleon is the amphitheater: an oval embankment of earth retained by concentric walls and pierced by masonry entrances. Down the major axis, 265 feet in length, runs a stone conduit. The spectators probably sat on wooden seats ranged in tiers on the bank.

Photo, Surrey Flying Services

came from beyond the Alps. Not so those whom they commanded. Probably most of the legionaries who crossed the Channel with the original army of invasion in the reign of Claudius were of Italian birth. But before the end of the first century Italy had ceased to be a recruiting ground.

Henceforward the men enrolled to keep the garrison of Britain up to strength, when they were not the sons of serving soldiers, were levied chiefly in Gaul and the Low Countries. Doubtless Britain itself was drawn on too. But, though Britain provided the Roman army with much first-rate fighting material, British recruits were usually drafted into overseas regiments. That was the case, at all events, during the earlier period of the occupation, although even then there may have been frequent exceptions. A well-known tombstone from Stirlingshire, for example commemorates a native of northern England who enlisted at the age of twenty-one and died nine years later on the Forth and Clyde Wall.

Numerous dedications give us a glimpse into the minds of the soldiery. There was a shrine for the worship of the emperor in the heart of every fortress and of every fort. Otherwise, polytheism was rampant.



HELMETS OF BRITAIN'S ROMAN GARRISON

Not a few Roman helmets have come to light in Britain. The two right and center (from Guisborough, Yorkshire, and Witcham Gravel, Ely), though rather elaborate, were probably intended for service use; the bronze crown of the one with loose cheek-pieces is tinned. The specimen, however, from Ribchester, on the left, with its detachable mask-vizor, was no more than the parade equipment of the Celtic cavalry. The crown is embossed with horse and foot in combat.

British Museum

Of Christianity, on the other hand, there is in the military zone no trace. Mithras, however, the Eastern god of light, had at least two devoted bands of worshippers on the Wall of Hadrian. And he had similar bands elsewhere. He was a special favorite with the army, and it is probable that Mithraic relics should always be associated with the military element in the population, even when they come to light within the civil area. That is certainly the case with the characteristic Mithraic sculpture found towards the end of last century in London.

Mention of London brings us to the towns of Roman Britain. Two of them, Carlisle and Corbridge-on-Tyne, lay within the military area, and had, therefore, a character of their own. They were centers for distributing supplies to the forts on the frontier, as well as holiday resorts for the soldiers during their brief intervals of leave. But they were not typical Romano-British towns. To find such towns we must turn to the civil area.

There London was pre-eminent. Of its beginnings we know nothing. If it existed in Julius Caesar's time, it can only have been as a mere village, too obscure to be alluded to by name. With a permanent establishment of the Roman dominion under Claudius it became a place of consequence at once. Tacitus tells us that by A.D. 61 it was already "much frequented by merchants and full of goods."

Its rapid rise is to be explained by its geographical position. Situated on a navigable river, within easy reach of the nearest part of the continent, it was likewise the natural gateway to the interior of the island. The advent of a garrison of 40,000 men, accompanied by the host of officials who were to administer the new province, created an immediate demand for imports on an unprecedented scale. The goods, we may suppose, were brought by sea to London, whence they found their way to their various destinations along the system of well-made roads which the invaders lost no time in laying out and which they steadily developed.

The three main routes were Ermine Street, leading through Huntingdonshire to Lincoln and the north; Watling Street, which ran across the Midlands to Wroxeter and Chester; and a southern highway, which made for Silchester, whence it branched off to Gloucester, Caerleon and Exeter.

ROMANO-BRITISH SHOES

The single shoe is from a burial in Kent. The three examples, mounted on modern trees, are from the Wall fort of Bar Hill in Dumbartonshire. The latter include a woman's shoe and a child's, and are thus interesting as relics of the family life of the Roman garrison.

From British Museum and Macdonald, 'Roman Wall'

It was thus as the great business emporium of the province that London came into being, and it retained that character till the end. Of its extent we can form a good idea from the traces of its walls which still survive either actually or in record. It lay on the Middlesex shore between the Tower and Ludgate Hill, its northern limit being represented by the street which we know as London Wall. The area was about 325 acres, giving a city of quite respectable size as cities went in those days.

ALTHOUGH it never attained to the rank of a municipality, there is evidence to suggest that it had some title to be

ROMAN LONDON——

The map on the left contains nothing for which there is not warrant. Reconstruction of London in the latter days of the Roman occupation is, however, in the nature of things largely conjectural.

Plan prepared by Dr. Mortimer Wheeler

regarded as the capital. It was, in later days at least, the seat of the financial administration, and it was for a time an imperial mint. When Christianity took root, it speedily became an episcopal see. A fourth-century emperor sought to honor it by calling it "Augusta," but the new name failed to catch the popular fancy. For more than a hundred years after the conquest the imperial legate who commanded the troops was also the civil governor, so that the civil officials would gravitate towards the military area, instead of remaining in the south. And one of the few certain things we know about what happened later is that there was much decentralization. Britain, once an undivided whole but split into two by Septimius Severus, was broken up into four different provinces, and ultimately these four became five.

Apart, however, from the army, and apart from the officials stationed in the various provincial centers and those entrusted with the management of valuable crown properties like the lead mines, it is easy to believe that the bulk of the immigrants from abroad were concentrated in London. It is true that Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln and the civil settlement at York were all "colonies." But this merely means that the towns already in existence there were deemed suitable by successive emperors for the settlement of time-expired soldiers, to whom grants of land in the neighborhood would be made, and that they were organized on the lines of Roman municipalities with all the

——RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TRADING METROPOLIS

In the foreground (left page) is the timber bridge, somewhat farther downstream than the present London Bridge, with wharves by the bridge gate on the London side. Thence a street runs to the Forum and the Basilica; the site of the latter is known from excavations and the former must have been adjacent. The town walls show the towers that were added to them not long before the evacuation; from the gates, whose Saxon names are given in the map, run Roman roads, flanked by tombs.

Reconstruction by Dr. Wheeler and A. Forestier in the London Museum

privileges of Roman citizenship. Verulamium or St. Albans, though not a colony, was raised to municipal status as early as the middle of the first century.

WHETHER any other towns were similarly honored, we do not know. But, if so, they, like the places mentioned, would have their own magistrates—the highest being four in number, grouped either in a single college (*quattuorviri*) or in two (*duoviri*)—and their local senate, or *ordo*, the individual members of which were called *decuriones*. They would have, too, a corporation known as the Augustales, connected somehow with the imperial cult and related, in a way that is not altogether clear, to the six men (*seviri*) who were annually appointed to act as priests of the emperor and apparently also as supervisors of the public games.

It is significant that the *seviri Augustales* were nearly always freedmen, a class which, though socially inferior, included many of the richer members of the community. Wealth was the most essential qualification for municipal offices of all kinds, for the holders were expected (and latterly compelled) to make large contributions to public purposes from their private means. Their only reward was the prestige of official dignity.

Bath, with its great temple of Sul

Minerva, the goddess of its healing waters, was in Roman days precisely what it is now, a spa much frequented by invalids from different parts of the province. The virtue of its springs was appreciated even in the first century, and we can measure its subsequent popularity by the magnificence of the ruins which it has still to show.

More typical are ten towns distinguished by a peculiar form of name, which indicates that they were cantonal capitals; it consists of two elements, of which the second is a tribal designation in the genitive (or possessive) case. Venta Belgarum, now Winchester, and Calleva Atrebatum, now Silchester, are well-known examples. Exeter, Caerwent, Cirencester, Canterbury, Wroxeter, Caister-by-Norwich, Aldborough and perhaps Chichester had names similarly compounded.

Each seems to have been the meeting-place of a body which might be compared to a modern county council—a local senate (*ordo*), charged with administrative and financial responsibility for the surrounding district, and doubtless the lineal descendant of an older native assembly, which had been transmuted by absorption into the Roman system.

From the excavations that have taken place at Silchester, Caerwent and Wroxeter we can so far reconstruct the appearance of a Romano-British town. It is evident that the chess-board method of planning, originally introduced into Europe from the East by the successors of Alexander the Great, was transplanted to the island by the Romans. That is, the ensemble tended to be square or oblong in shape, while the houses were grouped in rectangular blocks separated by streets. Silchester certainly has an irregular outline, but that may be because it had outgrown its original limits before it was surrounded by walls. Each town had its suite of public buildings—its forum or market-place in the center, with a basilica or town-hall adjoining, its spacious baths and its amphitheatre. There were temples also, and at Silchester was a church which cannot have been unique.

The shops can be easily identified. As for the houses, they were of two types. The leading feature of the simpler variety was a long corridor or veranda, off which all the rooms opened. In the more elaborate variety corridors or verandas of the same sort, each giving access to a series of rooms, were arranged round three sides of a central courtyard, in the fourth side of which was generally the main entrance. There was no uniformity in size; one of the Silchester examples is so large that it is supposed to have been a hotel. Important rooms were heated from underground chambers, known as hypocausts, a peculiarly Roman device. The plastered walls were brightly colored, and mosaics of classical pattern covered the floors. The smaller objects, such as personal ornaments and pottery, tell the same tale. Yet amidst all these indications of foreign influence there are signs that, though the inhabitants were completely Romanized, they had not therefore ceased to be British.

As in the towns, so in the country, the houses fall into two chief classes, corridor-houses and courtyard-houses. Alike in the simpler and in the more elaborate variety many of the rooms had mosaic floors, some with very ornate designs. Hypocausts were in common use here, too, while at least one set of baths seems to have been almost invariably provided. The size of the "villa" varied with the rank and means of the owner. The largest of the courtyard type must have been veritable mansions, and we may fancy them to have been the seats of the local aristocracy. The photograph and plan in page 1168 of the one at Chedworth in Gloucestershire, now the property of the nation, enable us to visualize its original appearance. The buildings round the inner court, which was laid out as a garden, were the abode of the family. Those flanking the outer court were intended primarily for domestics and farm servants, although in this particular instance there is evidence that some were used for fulling.

Again, the villas of the corridor type, the more rudimentary of which can have been little better than barns, appear to have been more or less substantial farms. In both cases the owners would be engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, the aristocrats being those who had large capital at their command. Usually these latter would be immigrants, officials in

charge of the imperial domains or men who had come to Britain as traders or financiers, and were now putting to a profitable use the fortunes they had acquired in business.

The necessary labor would not be difficult to obtain. The frequent traces of native villages—in the valley of the Thames, for example, and in Wiltshire—testify to the presence on the land of a large population, whose level of subsistence was clearly much lower than that of the dwellers in the "villas." Some of them tilled their own modest holdings. Others, probably many others, would be available for service as shepherds or farmhands. Others, again, would become workers in the potteries, which were numerous in the New Forest, for instance, and in the valley of the Nen.

FURTHER, there were the mines. Iron was smelted here and there, and there are evidences to suggest "a certain liveliness" in the Cornish tin trade round about A.D. 300. But lead was the chief mineral, and it was valued largely for the silver that was extracted from it. It was worked in Somerset as early as A.D. 50, and at a later date in Flint, Shropshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire.

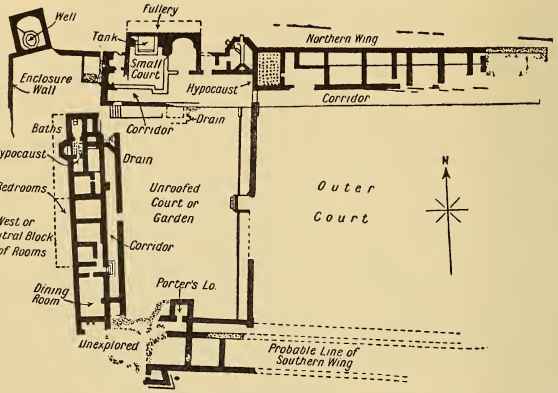
The fact, then, is that, whether we have regard to the towns or to the country, Britain was tolerably prosperous under the Romans, at least as prosperous as its climate and soil permitted. It could spare corn for export to the Rhine valley, and its wool, perhaps made up into cloaks, even found its way to eastern Europe. The imports, too, must have been considerable in volume. Inscriptions tell us that as early as the first century certain continental traders had learned to describe themselves as "British merchants," very much as we today speak of "East Indian" or "West Indian" merchants.

Clearly, great material advantages attached to the imperial connection. It would be idle to pretend that there was not a darker side to the picture. Of unauthorized physical violence or grossly illegal extortion, such as too often disgraced the earlier years of the conquest, there was probably little or none. The

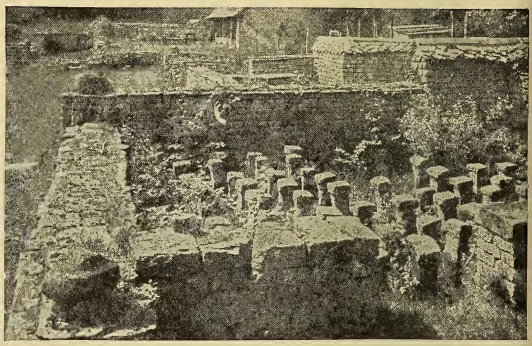
MASSIVE RAMPART OF ROMAN LONDON

The Roman Wall of London was naturally not suffered to go unrepaired in the ensuing centuries; but the least altered and most obviously Roman portion yet cleared was destroyed about 1880 in the construction of the railway to Southend. This photograph shows the footings, the external chamfered plinth of sandstone, and the alternating bands of ragstone and brick tiles. The Wall was 8 feet thick at the base and some 15 feet high.

Photo, courtesy of Dr. Philip Norman



imperial government understood the importance of the provinces too well to tolerate that, and its wiser heads realized the need of fostering their economic development carefully. Nor ought we to think of a repression of national aspirations. It is unlikely that the Romanized Britons had any consciousness of nationality at all. Rather, they regarded themselves as Romans and were proud to belong to the Empire.



SPACIOUS VILLA AT CHEDWORTH

At Chedworth, near Cirencester, are the most interesting remains of a Roman villa in England. Originally a country house or hunting-box, it was later—probably after the economic collapse of the third century, that resulted in factory industry being developed on large estates—enlarged to contain a dyeing and fulling establishment. Above is a plan, and, below, the hypocaust in the industrialized north wing and (beyond) the steps leading to the garden court.

Photo, Moss, Cirencester

EDUCATION had made great strides. A knowledge of reading and writing was common. In the towns Latin was very probably spoken by everybody. It was the language used by the tired workman when he scratched upon a half-finished tile the announcement that he was "fed up" (*satis*), or when, as in a familiar example from London, he indulged in a grumble at the "ca' canny" habits of a chum: "Every day Austalis strolls off for a fortnight's holiday." It was, too, the language used by lads and lasses in chaffing one another about their love affairs.

The significance of these facts is unmistakable. They indicate that Latin had become the mother tongue. In the country districts it may well have been otherwise. The dwellers in the "villas" do, indeed, seem to have talked Latin. But the dwellers in the villages, the mass of the population, in all likelihood clung to the vernacular. They used Roman pots and imitated various Roman fashions.

But it is difficult to believe that their Romanization was any more than skin-deep.

The burdens that the hand of Imperial Rome laid upon the provincials have been summed up by a recent writer as "compulsory levies of soldiers, compulsory contributions of money and foodstuffs, and compulsory labor."

On the whole, however, the island escaped more lightly than did the majority of the other provinces. If a balance be struck, it will be found that its people had no cause to regret their attachment to the Empire. Certainly the whips of Roman rule were as naught compared to the scorpions with which the outer world of barbarism was presently to chastise them.

Before the fourth century opened the province was already menaced by barbarian invasion. It came from three sides. On the north and west were the Picts and Scots, the latter of whom still had their main base in Ireland. As the years passed, these raiders grew more and more aggressive, sometimes swooping down from beyond the Wall of Hadrian, sometimes descending on the Welsh or English littoral. The climax was reached in A.D. 367, when the invading hordes broke through the frontier defences and swept over the Romanized area, spreading ruin and slaughter wherever they went. Roman Britain never fully recovered from the effects of this disaster. All the while the roving galleys of Saxon pirates, forerunners of the immigrant bands who were ultimately to give to the greater part of the island another language and another name, were ravaging the eastern sea-board with ever-increasing frequency and carrying fire and sword farther and farther inland.

In the "Notitia Dignitatum," an army list of the late Empire, the coast from the Wash to Southampton Water has become part of the military area. It is called "the Saxon Shore" and is controlled by an officer with the rank of "Count." The nine or ten forts in which the troops were stationed date from the close of the third century. They are quite unlike the castella built in earlier days for the accommodation of auxiliary regiments on the frontier, being larger and having high walls with numerous bastions. Some time after the middle of the fourth century the forts of the Saxon Shore were supplemented by a series of tall towers of stone, erected as lookout posts on the top of the Yorkshire cliffs.

The meaning of such precautions is not to be mistaken. And we can follow the shadow of the eclipse within the civil area, too. We can see the various inland towns, originally undefended, surrounding themselves with walls. Presently the walls have to be strengthened and the entrances made narrower. The fortification of isolated villas is a no less significant proof of the growing peril to life and property. By the last quarter of the fourth century most of the villas seem to have been abandoned or destroyed. The decay of the cities had set in much earlier.

It is impossible to say exactly when Britain ceased to be part of the Empire. The traditional date of A.D. 410 may be as near the truth as we shall ever get. What is certain is that there was no sudden snapping of the link. When the last Roman soldier had quitted the island, when there were no Roman officials left to take their orders from the emperor, the Britons still cherished the memory of a vanished past. The recollection may, indeed, have lasted as long as Romano-British civilization itself.

ROME AS THE WORLD'S LAW-GIVER

HOW A SUCCESSION OF BRILLIANT JURISTS MODIFIED THE LAW OF A CITY STATE TO SUIT AN EMPIRE

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THE subject of this study is not Roman law in the widest sense, but that part of it which is called 'private'; that is, the part which regulates the relations, family and commercial, between man and man. Roman constitutional and administrative law are best treated in connection with political history (see Chapters 46 and 53) and have had a very different fate from Roman private law in post Roman history.

The history of the private law falls into two great periods divided by the death of Justinian (emperor at Constantinople A.D. 527-65). The first is one of elaboration, culminating in the great synthesis made by Justinian, and known as the Corpus Juris Civilis, or Code of Civil Law. Between the date of the Twelve Tables (c. 451-450 B.C.), when our information begins to be historical, and the death of Justinian, who gave to Roman law the form under which it has chiefly influenced the modern world, the law of a rude peasant city state became that of a civilized empire.

The history of Roman law does not end with Justinian; it has a long epilogue in the Byzantine Empire, which we must simply neglect, and it has a unique second volume in western Europe, which gives it a living interest for us.

To be strictly accurate, the history of the after-importance of Roman law in the West begins a little before the death of Justinian, with the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century. The effect of this catastrophe upon Roman law was something like its effect on Roman institutions generally. It was a rude shock, resulting in some places, notably in England, in the almost complete destruction of these institutions; but generally they underwent various degrees of debasement and deformation. In most countries there was a mingling of Roman and barbarian elements, which occurred the more naturally because the barbarian conquerors had themselves already been partly Romanized by centuries of contact with the higher civilization and, frequently, by previous settlement within the Empire and service in the Roman army. Most important of all, the Christian Church survived and the Church was Latin. At first the Roman and barbarian laws existed side by side, and, even when a common law for each country had been reached, Roman law of a sort continued as a separate system in most Western countries, though not in England, right through the Dark Ages.

The Roman law which thus survived was naturally that of the pre-Justinian period, and was, moreover, a debased form of it. Even before the break-up of the Western Empire the Roman legal tradition had suffered greatly in the long convulsions of the times, and it was as inevitable that, in the absence of legal science that characterized the Dark Ages, Roman law should become barbarized as that the barbarian systems themselves should gradually be affected by an infiltration of Roman ideas.

The way was thus clear for a development of a Romance law parallel to the development of Romance races and tongues. But just as Latin has been not merely an ultimate source whence contributions have been carried to many modern languages by a continuous tradition of popular usage, but also a well from which new vocabulary has constantly been drawn by the learned study of the classical language, even so the

Roman element in Western law is not merely the result of a survival in practice, but comes largely from the revival of the learned study of the ancient law in its pure state.

This revival dates, for practical purposes, from the discovery by the Bolognese school at the end of the eleventh century of Justinian's Corpus Juris Civilis. The tradition of law bequeathed by the classical age had survived in the Eastern Empire through the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.; and what Justinian had done in the sixth century was to throw it into an accessible form of manageable size and unquestionable authority. Moreover, he had brought the substance of the law up to date by carrying to its final term the process of denationalizing Roman law, a process which had been in progress ever since Rome had begun to acquire a foreign empire, and by dealing with the many problems created by the emergence of the Church from the catacombs. As codified by Justinian, Roman law was better adapted to the needs of the later Middle Ages than was any tradition of pre-Justinian Roman law that may have survived the Dark Ages in the West.

The Bolognese revival spread to all the universities of the West, and from the universities passed gradually to the law-courts, from study to practice. We will illustrate what happened by taking two extreme cases, Germany and England.

In Germany Roman law became, in the course of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, the common law of the country, and remained in that position until the promulgation of the German Civil Code in 1900. Of course, it was not the sole law. It could be displaced in a given area by local statute and custom. It was thus a subsidiary law, but it was that which prima facie held good, and formed the sub-structure of the whole; its general principles were predominant throughout the entire legal system. But bear in mind that the imported law was not pure Roman law, but the version of it which came from the Italian universities. This modernized version omitted large parts of Justinian's law as 'not read,' that is to say, as inapplicable.

At the other extreme is England, where no more than in Germany can we say that any Roman law survived from the days when Britain was a Roman province. Though in Anglo-Saxon and early Norman days there are slight traces of a penetration of Roman ideas, for which the influence of the Church is mainly responsible, Roman influence on English law really begins after the rise of the Bolognese school, in the second half of the twelfth century, and it continues markedly till about the end of the thirteenth. This influence can be seen at its height in the fundamental treatise of Bracton (c. 1250). But, though English law was in some respects permanently affected by it, the early establishment of a strong central national government, and the continuity of the tradition and practice of the royal courts, put anything resembling the German 'reception' of Roman law outside the field of practical possibilities.

English law owes much to the Roman, not merely because of its inoculation with Roman principles in the thirteenth century, but because throughout the succeeding centuries the learned study of Roman law and the example of adjacent countries has made Roman law a constant influence. A simple illustration is the Latin origin of most of the chief British legal terms. But substantially the basis of English common law is Teutonic custom. Outside the common law, however, there has been some reception of Roman law by special English jurisdictions, sometimes directly, as in the case of the courts of admiralty, sometimes indirectly, through the canon law, as in the case of the formerly ecclesiastical courts of probate and divorce. Moreover, that very essential supplement of the common law known as equity is deeply indebted to canon, and thus, as we shall see, to Roman law.

In general it may be said that the causes everywhere predisposing men in favor of Roman law were the sheer intellectual attraction of this great product of antiquity, its superiority for the purposes of the rapidly developing commerce and town life of the later Middle Ages, and, underlying all, the feeling that the Roman Empire had in a sense never ceased to be, and that to some extent Roman law was still authoritative.

Nowhere were the continuity and unity of Christendom more patent than in the Church. The Church was universal and

had one universal law, so that a man was subject not merely to the secular law of his country, but to the canon law. There were matters over which the ecclesiastical courts had an incontestable jurisdiction, notably marriage; there were others in which their jurisdiction was contestable—for example, wills and contracts.

Now courts must have law; the Church had always had laws, but the development of canon law as a scientific body of rules dates from the twelfth century and originates, like the revival of Roman law, from Bologna. The sources of the canon law were various; it would be a mistake to classify them as entirely or mainly Roman: the Bible, the Fathers and Teutonic customary law must not be overlooked. But where it dealt with such matters as wills, contracts, possession and so forth, in short with what are now matters of private civil law, the canon law borrowed freely from Justinian. We have referred to the advances on the law of Justinian made by the Italian jurists; in this development the canonists showed themselves less traditional and more constructive than the civilians, and some of the most notable points in which modern European law has passed to a stage beyond that of Justinian's code are an inheritance from the medieval canon law.

The Reformation and the Renaissance proved in the long run unfavorable to Roman law. The Reformation broke the unity of Christendom, which had been a reality, and thereby destroyed the very basis of Roman and canon law conceived of as universally binding. Law came to be regarded as something primarily national, and the belief that Roman law was the type from which national systems were divagations waned. Similarly, it was all very well for the Renaissance scholars to exalt the Roman jurisprudence of the classical age (the second and third centuries A.D.), and to attempt to interpret Roman law by its historical setting. So read the Roman texts ceased to be applicable to contemporary conditions, and the medieval advances were abandoned as barbarous misinterpretations.

Under the action of the forces liberated by the Reformation and the Renaissance the combinations of local custom and statute with Italianized Roman law which formed the medieval systems were gradually displaced by national codes, based in certain parts, notably the law of contract, on medieval Roman law, but containing other elements, which in a general way may be termed Germanic, though this label hides the fact that much of the modern law must be assigned to the speculations of modern jurists and to the experience of modern practitioners, working on the novel material presented by our modern civilization.

Because the medieval resurrection of Roman law is a very familiar fact, one is apt to overlook its uniqueness and significance. It amounts to this, that Roman law, as a constituent element in our modern civilization, ranks at least equal to Greek philosophy, and below only Christianity itself. Now, the influence of Greek philosophy is a remarkable thing, but is not in itself a paradox. What is true philosophy must always and everywhere be true, and there is nothing strange in our having appropriated the truths discovered long ago by Plato and Aristotle. But what is good law at one time or place is not necessarily good at others. Thus the fact that for several centuries Roman law obtained all over an empire embracing widely different races and conditions might be regarded as an historical accident.

But it is impossible to give a similar explanation of the fact that Roman law was deliberately revived long after the Roman power had disappeared. This absolutely unique phenomenon can only have been due to the intrinsic qualities of the law, and is the best testimony to the achievement of the Roman jurists.

What is thereby suggested is that Roman law possesses an absolute value, independent of the accidents of political power: in other words, that it contains a regulation of social relations which is in accord with the permanent needs of human nature. It is commonly held that no particular legal system can possess this universal character, because there is nothing permanent in human nature. But this is a very crude view. If there is a science of comparative law, we are bound to assume at least that human nature, within the limits of historical

past and predictable future, is a constant, which under similar conditions will arrive at very similar legal results.

In the field of comparative law the Roman system is evidently an outstanding type; but viewed in the light of the philosophy of history it acquires a deeper significance. To those whose philosophy consists in the assumption of progress, Roman legal history will appear as a record of many a notable step towards the destined perfection, and the medieval revival of Roman law as a short-cut which spared western Europe the repetition of an evolution already realized. But this view, though interesting, rests on a very questionable hypothesis and relegates Roman law definitely to the past.

A second possible view emerges from a consideration of the intimate historical connection of Roman law with Christianity. Anyone who holds that the manifestation of our Savior is the central fact in history must regard the conditions in which that event occurred as providentially chosen. The Incarnation took place in the Roman Empire; anywhere else the preaching of the Gospel and the formation of Christendom would, so far as can be seen, have been impossible. Thus Christendom took shape in a society expressing its ideas of justice in terms of Roman law. And the fact that, after a lapse of centuries, society, become Christian though lower in material civilization, reverted once more to Roman law as the pattern regulation of human affairs gains a new significance. It raises the question whether, after all, Roman law has not an absolute value for all time.

The Christian view is that mankind received from its Creator a common human nature, governed by an immutable moral law from which society is continually departing, and to which it is continually striving to return. It might be, of course, that Roman law was an evil, and that revelation was sent to help us to overcome it, but the revival of Roman law in the Middle Ages strongly suggests the contrary: namely, that Roman law in its main lines is true to natural law.

It would be a caricature of this view to make it mean that Roman law is the natural law, with consequent unconditional validity for all times and places. It clearly contains much that is simply accidental, much that is plainly wrong, and it has nothing to say on a number of problems which have arisen in our more complex civilization. But the presumption remains strong that its governing ideas are consonant with the natural law which revelation reinforced.

An account of how Roman law, which in its origin was as archaic and narrowly national a system as can well be conceived, acquired by centuries of elaboration this universal quality would be too specialized for the purposes of this study. Here we must rather attempt to define the directing idea in this long process, an idea which has contributed more than any other to the civilization of law.

That idea is expressed by the famous term Jus Gentium, which means Law of the World. Rome was originally one of many states, each governed by a law intended for, and considered applicable to, none but its own citizens. That is why the Romans called their own law the law of citizens ('jus civile'). But, when states are small, commerce soon oversteps state boundaries, so that the problems of how to regulate the relations between and with foreign traders arose early. What more natural solution of it than to discover and enforce the ideas of justice common to the various systems of civil law because of the substantial identity of human nature everywhere?

The Greeks of the Hellenistic age seem to have held this idea, but they did not look outside the circle of Hellenistic states; it was the Romans who grasped the conception in its entirety and gave it full practical effect without any restriction of nationality. It was in harmony with their political idea of founding a world state and of removing artificial barriers, and it was in harmony with and reinforced by the Greek philosophical conception of natural law ('jus naturale').

The conscious pursuit of an ideal in such as this is of course a late development. The early steps are taken under pressure of practical needs. Thus the Jus Gentium seems to have originated as a law which could be applied by Roman magistrates to foreigners. Some such measure was necessary in the second to third centuries B.C., when, as a result of defeating Carthage, Rome took the lead in the Mediterranean world, be-

came an international center and was brought into intimate contact with Greek civilization.

But the Jus Gentium did not long remain the monopoly of foreign litigants. It passed into the law between citizens, where it became the great progressive force. The whole subsequent history of Roman law may in fact be described as the gradual supersession of the archaic national law by the Jus Gentium. As we have suggested above, however, the process by which this was achieved constitutes a highly technical subject of interest to few but specialist students of legal history. Here it will be sufficient to record that, outside the family law, the victory of the Jus Gentium was substantially complete by the beginning of the third century A.D., when, by the extension of Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire, the law as between citizens became the law for all.

But though the substantial law had been denationalized, its form was still thoroughly Roman, and as such unsuitable for universal application. The crux of the matter was that the archaic civil law had never been repealed; it was still in force, but was supplemented and superseded in countless details by praetorian law, that is by the practice of the Roman magistrates. To the Englishman, accustomed to the existence of a common law tempered and supplemented by equity or chancellor's law, this state of affairs is readily understandable, but to the Greeks and the rest of the non-Latin Roman world it must have seemed the height of foolishness.

What was chiefly needed, then, was that the praetorian reforms should become formally civil law, but just when by the extension of the citizenship the need became most urgent, the Roman state entered upon a long period of crisis, during which legal science underwent an eclipse. It was not until the fifth century that jurisprudence enjoyed a certain revival in the Eastern half of the now divided Empire, so that in the sixth, after the Western half had been lost, Justinian was able to face the problem systematically. It cannot be said that the solution of it contained in his Corpus Juris is entirely satisfactory. He wished to restore the glories of the jurisprudence of the early Empire, but was only able to do so by utilizing the literature of that period.

Thus the largest part of his codification is a mosaic of classical texts, from which, freely altered though they were, the historic distinction between civil and praetorian law could not be eradicated. In great measure Justinian did put an end to the technical survival of the old law and frankly adopted as the new civil law the Jus Gentium of praetorian law. So far his work was substantially Roman, not Byzantine. But there is a Byzantine contribution to it. The piecemeal reforms of the emperors from the fourth to the sixth century bore fruit in a denationalization of the family law which the praetorian reforms had left almost untouched, and in business transactions the Eastern formality of writing supplanted the old Roman forms. Other important advances, as in the law of marriage, are clearly attributable to Christianity.

The Jus Gentium was thus a master idea, but in legal development it is not enough to have brilliant ideas and exalted ideals. Nor, on the other hand, does it suffice to have absorbed a technical tradition. It is necessary so to manipulate the tradition as to make it receptive of progressive ideas. Legislation is sometimes inevitable, but the main path of development lies in the adaptation of existing law by free and equitable administration. That is how the best parts of English common law and equity have been fashioned, and that is how substantially the whole of the Jus Gentium was evolved. The only difference is that in the English system the leading part has fallen to a bench of permanent judges, whereas in the Roman it fell to a select band of practising lawyers or jurists, whose pronouncements were recognized as authoritative by public opinion and later by the emperors.

In the Jus Gentium the test of law is what a man of common sense and good faith would deem to be right. If the existing civil law enforces claims which offend that test, somehow a practical means of avoiding them must be found. If it fails to enforce a clear claim of good faith, somehow a means of enforcing that claim must be found. Often a skilful reinterpretation of traditional material will suffice; but, where this failed, Roman law contained technical

means whereby novel remedies and defences could be introduced, tested in practice, and dropped or permanently adopted according to their practical success. Hence the Romans defined law as the art of what is good and fair, and jurisprudence as the knowledge of what is just and unjust. For them the business of the jurist was constantly to improve the law by bringing it into accord with ethical standards.

This conception of law is our great debt to the Romans. They thought of it not as an inert mass of traditional rules, a kind of procrustean bed to which human interests must be fitted, nor again as something simply laid down from on high, but as a progressive and adaptable thing, to be reasoned about and steadily perfected by constant touch with human needs. On the other hand their solutions are never those of a vague subjective equity. There was a certain sober and stable Roman conception of social justice and honor which the law could reasonably aspire to realize without becoming the sport of individual whims. It was never said of praetorian law, as it was caustically said of English equity, that it varied with the length of the magistrate's foot. The Romans combined elasticity with certainty, progress with an intensely conservative professional tradition. The 'prudentes,' or jurists, were moralists, but they remained lawyers.

The picturesque details of primitive Roman law would be out of place in a study of Rome as the world's law-giver, because Roman law became the law of the civilized world precisely by shedding its archaic features. But an attempt must be made to compare the fundamental features of the late Roman and modern European legal systems.

The natural basis of society is the family under the headship of the father. In the earliest period Rome was a federation of clans, themselves formed by agglomeration of families. The prevention of private wars between the clans was the earliest function of the state. At a later stage the rule of the state, law in fact, penetrated inside the clan and arbitrated between families; but it was long before law forced its way inside the family.

For many centuries the family was under the unrestricted rule of the father, a system which was given legal expression in the terms of the famous 'patria potestas' (the power of the father). According to law, the father had absolute authority over his children: he could put them to death, sell them into slavery or bondage, appropriate all their earnings and acquisitions, turn them out of the family without a penny, reduce their rights by adopting outsiders, disinherit them absolutely, prevent their marrying. If the word 'pater' (father) is etymologically a baby word like pappa, the Roman paterfamilias ('father' in the sense of 'head of a family') evokes a very different picture. But even in the early period there were strong limitations imposed by custom and morality, reinforced by the discipline of the censors. For an extreme exercise of his powers a father had to have recourse to the family council.

Gradually the law penetrated into the family, limiting the paternal power, and consecrating the individual rights of the subordinate members. Thus by the time of Justinian, and indeed long before, the complete personal and economic dependence of children was greatly reduced. But it remained very extensive, and it still lasted as long as the father lived. Thus a man of fifty still required his father's consent in order to marry, though the magistrate could grant a dispensation if consent was unreasonably withheld.

Again, in spite of the considerable restrictions set upon the obligatory acquisition of property for the father by children, reading between the lines one is led to think that the economic dependence of a son was still, even under Justinian, a serious matter. It may be fair enough that up to a certain age a child should earn for the family, and the real objection to this manifestation of the 'patria potestas,' as modified in the latest law, is that it still lasted for the father's life. In this respect at least the Roman family system retained to the end a strongly national color. On the other hand it does clearly recognize the essential natural headship of the father, which, deferring to sentimentality and feminism, our modern law has dangerously diminished.

To a woman, the patriarchal system was at first particularly severe, because on her father's death she did not become legally independent, but would either be

in her husband's power or would fall under the tutorship of her nearest male relatives; and this tutorship was in early days not far removed from 'patria potestas.' But in the latest law we find that sex disabilities have disappeared. If unmarried, women became on their father's death as free as men. If married, they were no longer in their husband's power, the forms of marriage which produced this result having fallen out of use by the time of the early Empire. The classical law established that marriage was made by consent, the principle which is the basis of the Christian sacrament. This was one of the greatest constructions of Roman jurisprudence, but by an unfortunate analogy it was inferred that equally marriage could be terminated by withdrawal of consent and consequently by the mere repudiation of either party. Never has divorce been so free from restrictions both in theory and practice. The subject has become so controversial in modern times that we will only observe that the Roman doctrine is the very antithesis of the Christian.

Closely connected with family law is that of inheritance. In the case of an unjust will, the law of Justinian guaranteed children and certain other relatives a definite fraction of what would have been theirs on intestacy. This is a principle accepted by all modern law except English. Only in English law can a father capriciously leave the whole of his fortune to strangers. None the less the English will is in the direct line of descent from the Roman. Moreover the law of intestate succession, as rationalized by Justinian, is substantially identical with modern law.

The Roman social system, like the English, was based on an unequivocal recognition of private property, but any comparison is rendered difficult by the survival of some feudal elements in English land law, and by the doctrine of trusts, that greatest constructive achievement of native English jurisprudence, which has no counterpart in Roman law. But one contrast needs to be mentioned.

The Romans applied the conception of property to human beings. Slavery and divorce are the two great blots on Roman law, and it was only by the patient effort of centuries that Christianity was able to remove them. Slavery is a term of many shades of meaning; the Roman conceived it in the most objectionable sense. A man might own another as he owned his ox; he was then at liberty to exploit him to the uttermost and abandon him when infirm; his power of alienation was unfettered, so that he could break up his marriage and family. There were certain assuagements in later Roman law, but the total abolition of slavery by our civilization represents the unanimous verdict of Christianity.

The law of contract is the part of modern European law which is most clearly and directly descended from the Roman. It is now universally recognized that a man is bound by his business agreements. The law may sometimes require formalities, whose object is to ensure that there shall be no equivocation nor evasion, and the general formality required is writing. But these principles, so obvious to us, are the result of centuries of Roman development. In fact, in the simple form in which we have stated them they represent not pure Roman law, but the final perfection of Roman law by the medieval civilians and canonists.

Early Roman law recognized that a man might bind himself to another by certain solemn forms. These forms normally ensured agreement, but it was the form that was binding, not agreement. It was even laid down that agreement as such did not bind. Amongst such early forms was one of great simplicity, consisting of an oath taken by question and answer. The requirement of a solemn word (spondeo—'I pledge myself'—was the generally accepted word) was gradually dropped, and eventually all that was necessary was that the promissor should answer the spoken question of the promissee by an unconditional affirmative. Moreover, the obligation thereby created had been one of strict law. A man was simply bound to do what he had thus promised, regardless of his having been influenced by mistake, fraud or fear. But here the praetor intervened, and by means of equitable pleas nullified the promise on proof of these facts.

Some relics of the old verbal solemnity survived; thus the parties had still to be present together, and the contract could not be made by exchange of letters, but

by the end of the second century A.D. it would have been but a short step to substitute the principle that agreement as such was binding. But neither the late classical jurists nor Justinian took it.

Parallel with this development runs another, consisting in the exemption of certain of the most important contracts from the rule of form. Sale, hire, partnership and mandate could be formed by simple consent, and others were added. These new contracts had the advantage of taking the whole transaction into account: the rights and duties of both parties came under review and were settled by the rules of good faith. And there was another class of contracts formed for the most part by the physical transfer of some object—loans, deposit, pawn, etc.—to which the rule of bilaterality and good faith applied. The implications of good faith casuistically worked out by classical jurists are the basis of modern jurisprudence.

In the matter of torts, as English law calls civil wrongs, modern European law has similarly appropriated and perfected the results of centuries of Roman evolution. Their system originated as one of private vengeance, and developed into one of money penalties payable to the injured party in place of vengeance. This penal idea was never wholly extirpated; to the end Roman law is struggling, not with entire success, to substitute the modern principle of compensation. Yet, in spite of this defect, it may be questioned whether the Roman law of offences against the person, for example, is not more delicately adjusted to natural feelings than the modern English law with regard to offences against honor. A Roman citizen could sue for conduct or words insulting his wife or family, and an insult to a man after his death could, indeed must, be vindicated by his representatives.

Our last debt to the Romans is in the matter of legal process. We are accustomed to think of the state as the fountain of justice; the law is supreme, and the full power of the state is at our disposal for the enforcement of our private rights. We forget that here, as elsewhere, we have simply appropriated the results of the Roman evolution. The history of Roman procedure shows with how great difficulty the idea that justice in private disputes is a function of the state comes to be accepted. In the latest Roman law the idea was carried even too far, and justice became too bureaucratic. The judge was now a civil servant and was unassisted by the lay juror who had played so prominent a part in the days of political freedom. The procedure of Justinian is the parent of modern continental procedure, from which English law departs so happily in its method of recruitment of the judicial bench, and, with more doubtful success, in its retention of the civil jury.

ALEXANDRINE LITERATURE AND LEARNING

HOW THE HERITAGE OF HELLENISM WAS STUDIED IN THE SCHOOLS OF ALEXANDRIA UNDER THE PTOLEMIES AND THE ROMANS

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LEARNING, in the sense of an acquaintance with the literary and scientific heritage of the past, obviously cannot exist till a body of literature and science has come into existence to be bequeathed to posterity. The great creative age of the ancient Greeks ended with Alexander the Great, but by that time so important a body of literature and science had been formed that the days of Alexander could be followed by an age of learning. There is nothing impossible in the coexistence of learning and new creative production. The great age of Greek creation in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. was also to some extent an age of learning: there was already a literary heritage in Homer, the other epics and the lyric poets (see Chapter 34), and a heritage of rudimentary science in the writings of the Ionic philosophers (see Chapters 39 and 40), which it took time for a man to master; and it was a matter of pride when a man's memory was richly stored.

In the age of learning after Alexander fresh literary creation did not altogether cease: different sciences made notable advances; yet it remains true that in the days before Alexander the original literary production is more prominent than the learning, and in the age after Alexander the converse is found. Why the creative power of the Greek genius flagged in the days after Hellenism had conquered most of the known world is one of the most obscure, and the most interesting, problems of human history.

Learning, so far as it does not consist in the committing to memory of a merely oral tradition, presupposes books—libraries. Books had been extremely rare possessions in the Greek world before the introduction of the papyrus material from Egypt towards the end of the seventh century B.C. Before that the Greeks had written on prepared skins ('diphtherai'), as the Asiatics did, or on wooden tablets or other materials that came to hand. In ancient Egypt there were extensive swamps covered with a tall-growing reed called by modern botanists the Cyperus papyrus, now extinct in Egypt though still found on the Upper Nile. Perhaps three thousand or more years before Christ some Egyptian thought of sticking the fibers of this reed side by side, and so making sheets of a sort of paper, for writing on; then long strips of this substance were made on which an extensive literary work could be written in successive parallel columns, and which, rolled up together, formed a portable book. Papyrus books of this kind were in use in Egypt many centuries before the Greeks were familiar with them.

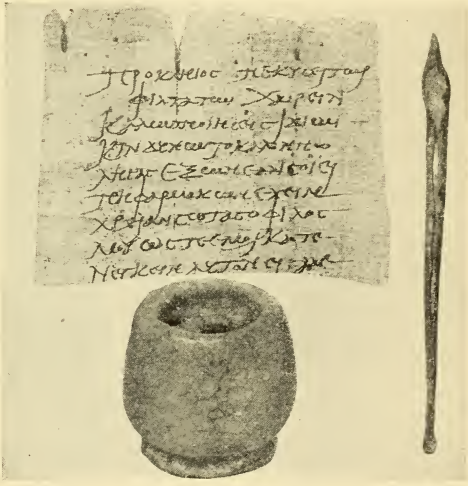
In the seventh century the Egyptian papyrus stuff, single sheets and long rolls of it, began to be exported to the Greek world. It gave the Greeks a more convenient writing material than they had ever had before, and Greek books began to multiply. The papyrus stuff itself the Greeks called 'chartēs'—probably from some Egyptian word and to a roll of it, a papyrus book, they gave the same name as that given by them to the papyrus plant itself, 'byblos,' later written 'biblos' (whence the word 'Bible'). From the Greek 'chartēs' came the Latin 'charta,' signifying papyrus paper, whence the Italians still call paper 'carta,' transferring the old name quite naturally to another kind of stuff which serves the same purpose. But why anybody in the Middle Ages began to call the new rag paper introduced from the East 'papy-

rus,' whence the French 'papier,' and the English 'paper,' nobody seems to know. The ancient Greeks knew the word 'papyrus' as a name of the plant, but they never called the paper made from it 'papyrus.'

By the fifth century B.C. the literary heritage of Greece from Homer onwards had all come to be engrossed in quantities of papyrus rolls which circulated from hand to hand or were sold in the markets. In 407 B.C. a blank papyrus roll cost at Athens 1 drachma 2 obols (equivalent to about 3 shillings in purchasing power.)

There were now men whose ambition it was to form a library ('bibliothēkē,' a place for putting 'biblia,' papyrus rolls). Euripides is said to have possessed an unusually large collection of papyrus rolls for his day. Plato in the fourth century, when he founded in the Academy a school for philosophical research, fitted it out with a library. A still greater one was founded by Aristotle for his school. But, of course, if a despot turned his desires in the direction of making a library, his resources gave him an advantage over a private individual.

When after Alexander's death (323 B.C.) one of his Macedonian marshals, Ptolemy son of Lagus, made himself king of Egypt, a man of Greek culture became master of the country which supplied papyrus paper to the rest of the world. Under the successors of Ptolemy, who all bore the name of the founder of the line, the manufacture of papyrus paper in Egypt was probably a monopoly of the crown, so that the substance required all over the sphere of Greek culture for the making of books could be procured only from the workshops of the Greek king of Egypt. Ptolemy, as the richest man of the world then known, had an advantage over everyone else in buying books already existing all over the Mediterranean lands; and, besides that, as controlling the world's paper supply, he was in the best position for having copies of the old books made, or for having new books put into circulation. When he conceived the ambition of forming in Alexandria the greatest library of the world, no one could compete with him.



PAPER, PENS AND INK OF LONG AGO

For writing on papyrus, manufactured chiefly at Alexandria, and on parchment, Greek and Roman scribes used pens of reed or bronze, cut to a point and slit; and as ink the Romans used the sepia secreted by the cuttle fish. The inkpot (bottom) of blue faïence was found at Oxyrhynchus and is of Roman date.

British Museum

Later, when the Greek kings of Pergamum wished to create a rival library, they tried to break Egypt's monopoly in paper by the manufacture of a finer kind of prepared skin, called 'pergamēnē' (whence our word 'parchment'; the general Greek name for skin prepared for writing on was, as has been said, 'diphthera,' the Latin 'membrana'). But papyrus paper held its own as the material for books in the Graeco-Roman world till Christian times.

The great library of Alexandria was connected with an institution, founded probably by the first Ptolemy, called the Museum. We must dismiss from our minds the modern associations of the word 'museum.' In Greek 'mousaion' meant a temple of the Muses—the goddesses of music and poetry and literature generally. All associations which men formed in the Greek world adopted the worship of some deity or deities as their formal center. The Pythagorean lodges had a communal cult of the Muses. In the school of Aristotle at Athens there was a 'Museum,' a shrine of the Muses. When therefore Ptolemy determined to found in Alexandria a kind of university for the study of Greek literature and science, it was natural for him to make it in form an institution for a cult of the Muses. One of the persons of influence at his court was the Athenian refugee Demetrius of Phalerum, who had been a disciple of Aristotle and was himself a noted man of letters. It is likely then that the school of Aristotle, with its 'Museum' and its library, served to some extent as a model for Ptolemy.

The work begun by the first Ptolemy was completed by his son, called by later generations Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247)—a 'Roi Soleil' who evinced a lively interest in literature and zoology. The buildings of the Museum were annexed to the royal palace on the sea-front of Alexandria. When Strabo saw them in 24 B.C. they included a large common hall, used as a refectory, and a covered walk ('peripatos') like a university cloister. The head of the Museum, nominated by the king of Egypt, had the title 'Priest of the Muses.' Greek scholars and philosophers, attracted from all over the Greek world, who became Fellows of the Museum, received a stipend from the king, and, after 30 B.C., from the Roman government.

To facilitate their studies the Fellows of the Museum had, in close connection with it, the great library. At the end of the reign of Philadelphus the Library is said to have contained 400,000 'mixed' rolls and 90,000 'unmixed' rolls. The term 'mixed' rolls is usually thought to mean rolls with more than one literary work written in them. About 50 B.C. the number of rolls in the Great Library is given as 700,000. There was also a 'daughter' library connected with the Serapeum (temple of Serapis) in the native quarter of Alexandria, containing (in the time of Philadelphus) 42,800 rolls. It has been pointed out that so great a number of rolls, 'mixed' and 'unmixed,' in the Library and in the Serapeum would have been far in excess of what was required to contain the total number of literary works produced up to that date in the Greek world. Hence it is inferred that a large proportion of them must have been replicas, and that the Library served not only for the conservation of books but as a publisher's warehouse, from which books were distributed to the world. The Ptolemies would then have done a good business not only by the manufacture of papyrus paper but of books for export.

Stories are told about the avidity of the Greek kings of Egypt in collecting manuscripts. A valuable manuscript discovered on any boat touching Egypt was taken away for the Library and the owner given only a copy of it in exchange. At Athens the state kept a series of standard manuscripts of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Ptolemy III is said to have borrowed them for copying, depositing in Athens fifteen talents as pledge. He kept the Athenian manuscripts and returned only copies of them, forfeiting the money.

What the fate of the Alexandrine Library was, ancient documents do not enable us to know. A story current from the second century A.D. onwards says that it was burnt accidentally when Julius Caesar set fire to the Egyptian fleet in 47 B.C., but it is now usually thought that it was some warehouses on the sea-front, stocked with rolls for export, which were burnt, not the Library itself. (Birt, however, still adheres to the view that the Library was set on fire in 47 B.C.). Probably the great Library perished, by dispersion, neglect or the accidents of war, before the end of the third century A.D.

The Serapeum was demolished by the Christians in A.D. 391, and Sandys supposes that the smaller Library also ceased after that to exist. Writing apparently shortly before that date, Aphthonius of Antioch speaks as if the Serapeum Library were still there. The story that

the Mahomedan general, Amru, burnt the Alexandrine Library in A.D. 642 is not heard of till six centuries later, and is rejected by almost all modern scholars as an invention. There was then no library in Alexandria left to burn.

Under the Ptolemaic dynasty (323 to 30 B.C.) Alexandria, with its Museum and its Library, was the chief center of Greek learned scholarship and science. In philosophy the primacy was still held by the schools of Athens. But the last blossoming of Greek original poetry in the first half of the third century B.C. was connected with Alexandria. The poets—Philetas of Cos, Theocritus of Syracuse, Callimachus of Cyrene, Apollonius of Rhodes, Lycophron of Chalcis, Alexander the Aetolian and many others—had their homes in Greek lands outside Egypt, but to the brilliant Ptolemaic court, with its prospects of honor and reward, they were all alike drawn—'singing birds in a cage,' sneered contemporary satire.

The poetry of that age was marked by literary learning, by virtuosity. It abounded in echoes and allusions to the great poetry of the past. Far-fetched allusions to local mythology were all the fashion. The Alexandra of Lycophron, which we still possess, reaches the limit of pedantic obscurity. In Theocritus (see also Chap. 34) the poetic idealization of the talk of shepherd-folk in Cos and Sicily has loveliness and charm; but it was a literary artifice which appealed to sophisticated city-dwellers by giving them imaginary refreshment in a simple primitive world unlike their own.

Learned studies at Alexandria received a great blow on the accession of the bloated and murderous Ptolemy VII (Euergetes II) in 145 B.C.; numbers of the scholars and philosophers and physicians fled or were banished, and so were scattered over the Greek world—not because Ptolemy VII was hostile to literature as such (he himself aspired to be an author, and left a book of memoirs in which he gave a lively picture of the eccentricities of his uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes), but because the intellectuals of Alexandria had largely been supporters of his brother, Ptolemy VI, whom he hated. As a place of learning Alexandria never recovered its eminence.

Of the four men who were curators of the library between 285 and 145, it is to be noted that Eratosthenes was the only one who was great in the field of science as well as in that of letters: Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus were literary critics pure and simple. The work of all three was largely concerned in the establishment of an authorized text of Homer. Aristarchus also published commentaries on Homer, in which he made a careful study of Homeric language and topography and the mythology in Homer as compared with other versions of it. Later antiquity always looked upon Aristarchus as the Homeric critic par excellence. But the activities of the three extended to Greek literature generally. It fell to Zenodotus to classify the works of the Greek poets: he dealt himself with the lyric poets and commissioned Alexander the Aetolian to classify the tragedians and Lycophron the writers of comedies. Aristophanes published works of grammatical theory, collections of notable words and phrases, and a collection of Greek proverbs. Aristarchus (215-145) edited with commentaries the texts of Hesiod, Alcaeus and Pindar, and wrote commentaries on Archilochus and on the Athenian dramatists.

The work of Eratosthenes (276-195) covered a large field. His friends called him 'Pentathlos' (an athlete who excelled in five different kinds of contest) and his enemies 'Beta,' because he was second best, they said, in so many departments and first in none. The more important section of his work was concerned with different branches of science, and is therefore considered elsewhere. He produced also an important work on world chronology, in which he tried to fix the dates, not only of political events, but of philosophers and poets. In moral philosophy a treatise of Eratosthenes, On Good and Evil Things, is mentioned. In the field of letters Eratosthenes wrote a study marked by fine scholarship on the Old Comedy. But he was also himself a poet of distinction and published two small epics and an elegiac poem treating fragments of the traditional mythology. Arsinoë, a book written in memory of the unhappy sister-wife of the degenerate Ptolemy IV, who had been murdered by the palace cabal, was a fruit of his old age. None of the writings of this remarkable man remain,

but Eratosthenes laid the foundation of later books on geography (see page 1113) and chronology, in which some of his work still survives for us, with fragments which reveal its high quality.

No other writers besides the four curators mentioned, and the three poets, Callimachus, Alexander and Lycophron, are expressly connected in the statements which have come down to us with the royal Library at Alexandria, or the Museum; but we know of a large number of men, active in the field of letters or of scientific research at Alexandria, and no doubt they used the special facilities which Alexandria afforded. It was here that the later literary tradition regarding the lives and characters of the Greek writers and philosophers, such as we find it in books of the Roman age, was given form and fixed—anecdotal gossip, which appealed to the appetite of the later Greeks, entering largely into it.

In the field of history an important contribution was made under the first Ptolemy by the native Egyptian priest, Manetho, who, with the patronage of the court, wrote in Greek an account of ancient Egyptian history, based on real knowledge of the documents, which no Greek writer on the subject ever took the trouble to acquire. But so far as the writing of contemporary history went, Alexandria made no great contribution: of the two chief historians of the centuries between Alexander and the Christian era, Polybius wrote at Rome or in Greece, Poseidonius, in Rhodes. In Timagenes however (born c. 75 B.C.) Alexandria had an industrious historical writer of the second or third rank. His universal history is probably the original on which the Latin history of Trogus Pompeius was based, and of Trogus we still possess a poor and pretentious abridgement, the work of Justin.

In geographical discovery, on the other hand, Ptolemaic Egypt, with its fleets for war and commerce, did make notable contributions to knowledge. Philo, the admiral of the first Ptolemy, went up the Nile to Ethiopia and left a book about it; Dalion, presumably an Egyptian Greek, also made the journey to Ethiopia about the same time and described it; Pythagoras, an officer probably of Ptolemy II, prepared a treatise dealing with the Red Sea; Timosthenes of Rhodes, another admiral of Ptolemy II, produced a work On Harbors and another On Islands; Dionysius, sent as an ambassador of Ptolemy II to India wrote about that country. A Greek called Simonides resided for five years in the Ethiopian capital, Meroë, probably in the latter half of the third century B.C., and embodied his impressions in a book about Ethiopia. Agatharchides of Cnidus (first half of second century B.C.) wrote geographical monographs, including one on the coasts of the Red Sea of which some important fragments remain.

At an unknown date—probably about 100 B.C.—an Egyptian-Greek skipper Hippalus, discovered the periodicity of the monsoons, which made direct voyages from the Red Sea to India possible for Greek merchantmen. Hippalus did not, so far as we know, leave any writing on the subject, but we have a little book of commercial information about the ports of the Red Sea and India and the wares exchanged between Egypt and India, written in the first century A.D. by an unknown Greek—called by its Latin title Periplus Maris Erythraei.

Details as to the achievements of the schools of Alexandria in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, mechanics and medicine are given in Chapter 62.

Of the pupils of Aristarchus one holds an important place in the history of letters. This was Dionysius (born c. 166 B.C.), an Alexandrine, commonly called Dionysius Thrax, because his family was of Thracian origin. Dionysius wrote the first elementary grammar of the Greek language. For centuries it remained the standard book for schools and other grammars were based on it. Translated into Syriac at a later date, it became the foundation for Arabian grammatical science. Our modern grammatical terminology is largely drawn from it through Latin versions. Although Alexandrine by origin, Dionysius Thrax set up his school in Rhodes, which in the first century B.C., when the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt was breaking up, superseded Alexandria as the place resorted to by Greeks and Romans for literary studies.

Yet in the last half century before the Christian era the men who supplied the Graeco-Roman world with the handbooks on Greek literature which the age re-

quired were largely Alexandrines. If the great days of original scholarship were past, there was an extensive demand, amongst Romans of literary leanings as well as amongst Greeks, for works which chopped up the older, learned literature into forms that made a superficial erudition easy to acquire—collections of excerpts, lexicons, abridgements, doxographies (opinions of philosophers).

The man who furnished most abundantly what that generation wanted was an Alexandrine, Didymus, who showed prodigious industry in making books out of the works of the older Alexandrine scholars—four thousand rolls, it is affirmed. Didymus got the nickname 'Chalkenteros,' which means 'with guts of brass.' He published a number of lexicons—a lexicon of puzzling words in the old literature, a lexicon of figures of speech, a lexicon of the comic poets, and yet others. He re-edited texts with commentaries and biographical notices of the authors. He wrote treatises on grammatical theory. The works of Didymus became in turn a quarry for the writers of other 'manuals,' so that a good part of the notes, called 'scholia,' appended to our existing manuscripts of the classics, transcribed in Constantinople centuries later, are derived from Didymus. It was another Alexandrine, contemporary with this Didymus, called Arius Didymus, who drew up the Epitome of the opinions of the philosophers, from which later doxographical works were drawn.

In the age following the birth of Christ Alexandria was only one amongst the seats of learning. Rome had now great libraries, and in the Greek cities of Asia Minor were the chief schools of rhetoric and medicine. But we still hear of Alexandrines who carried on the work of Didymus—Theon (a head of the Alexandrine school), Pamphilus, who wrote in ninety-five rolls a lexicon of obscure words (c. A.D. 50), Philoxenus, Apion. Of these Apion is best known, on account of the work of Josephus entitled Against Apion; for Apion, amongst other things, wrote against the Jews. From other sources we know that he was a vain, self-advertising pedant, who at one time was head of the school in succession to Theon. Josephus says that he was of native Egyptian origin, not a genuine Alexandrine; but this may have been merely an invention that Josephus disseminated as a statement which Apion would dislike intensely. The story of Androcles and the lion comes from Apion. Apion is singular in one way: he is the only person in the whole of pagan antiquity who, according to the statement of someone who had met him, professed to have seen a ghost.

In the second century A.D. Aelius Theon, who wrote commentaries on some of the classical authors and a book on the art of writing, still extant, belonged to Alexandria, and also a much more important man, Apollonius Dyscolus, who elaborated the rules of Greek grammar, of which the foundations had been laid by Dionysius Thrax. In this late age of the Graeco-Roman world, when the ancient culture seemed dying in nearly all its branches, Apollonius registers an important advance in the science of Greek grammar. Perhaps one could not even say that Greek grammar was really scientific before. Only four, indeed, of the grammatical treatises of Apollonius have survived—on pronouns, on adverbs, on conjunctions, on syntax. But the later grammarians of Constantinople drew from his work, so that the system of Greek grammar brought to the West from Constantinople at the time of the Renaissance was largely derived, no doubt, directly or indirectly, from Apollonius. His son, Herodian, who removed his school from Alexandria to Rome, also left grammatical works drawn upon by the later age.

Some time between the first and fourth century A.D. lived Valerius Harpocration of Alexandria, whose lexicon of the Attic Orators is still extant and of great value to-day, as it embodies much material from older lost works relating to the institutions of Athens in the fourth century B.C. In the latter part of the second century A.D. lived the author of an extant substantial work (called the Onomasticon) which preserves a good deal of interesting information about Attic words and phrases, Julius Pollux. He ultimately settled as a professor at Athens, but is so far connected with Alexandria that his home was the neighboring old Greek city of Naukratis. Hephaestion of Alexandria (probably in the middle of the second century A.D.) wrote the standard work on Greek poetical metres,

of which an abridgement still survives.

Thus Alexandria, with its museum and library, remained during the first two centuries of the Christian era the chief center for philological and grammatical studies: in other branches of culture and science it had no longer any special monopoly. As regards medical studies, for instance, Pergamum and Rome stood as high, or higher. But the medical schools of Alexandria still continued in being. The last great medical writer of antiquity, Galen (A.D. 131 to 201), of whom we still possess 118 treatises, studied at Alexandria, as well as at the schools of Asia Minor, before he settled in Rome (see also pages 1115-1117).

In philosophy, the Alexandrine schools gained prestige by some eminent names under the Roman Empire. It was at Alexandria that an attempt was made just before and just after the beginning of the Christian era by Hellenistic Jews resident in the great Gentile city, to combine the doctrines of Judaism with the Greek philosophical tradition. Of this attempt we have a monument in the voluminous works of Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Jesus Christ. The problem of educated Greek Christians was to some extent the same as the problem of Hellenistic Jews, since Christianity was built upon presuppositions taken over from Israel. And at Alexandria men arose in the Christian community who, largely influenced by Philo, tried to combine Christianity with Greek philosophy. A Stoic converted to Christianity, called Pantaenus, was lecturing at Alexandria in the latter part of the second century A.D. His disciple, the large-hearted Clement of Alexandria (about A.D. 160 to 215) carried on his work, and Clement's disciple, Origen (A.D. 185 to 254), who taught in his turn at Alexandria, was the greatest scholar of the Christian Church before Saint Jerome, and the greatest philosopher of the Christian Church before Saint Augustine. A substantial part of the works of Clement and Origen survives. The Christian philosophical school of Alexandria existed under a succession of leaders (catechists) till the death of the last leader Didymus (A.D. 395); its history is studied elsewhere.

A contemporary of Origen at Alexandria was the pagan philosopher, Ammonius Saccas, who is said to have been a Christian in his early life. It was the lectures of Ammonius which gave another Egyptian Greek, Plotinus (A.D. 204 to 270), the first principles of his philosophy. Plotinus afterwards settled in Italy, and became the founder of the type of philosophy called neo-Platonism. His works still remain, and secure him an abiding place in the history of human thought, since they entitle him to be considered the last great original thinker of pagan antiquity. Except for the impulse given to Plotinus by Ammonius Saccas, the neo-Platonic philosophy was not specially connected with Alexandria till the fifth century A.D., when Theon, a leading philosopher and mathematician of the time, taught in Alexandria. He was the father of the celebrated Hypatia, the woman philosopher who was murdered by the Alexandrine mob in the belief that such savage fanaticism was the religion of Christ. Theon is the last man of whom it is recorded that he was a Fellow of the Alexandrine Museum.

THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY

SUCCESSFUL EMERGENCE OF THE MONOTHEISTIC RELIGION THAT WAS HENCEFORWARD TO DOMINATE THE WESTERN WORLD

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FROM the point of view of the secular historian the most striking fact about Christianity is that a religion which had its roots in the soil of Palestine, in a purely Semitic atmosphere—for it is impossible to find any clear traces of Greek influence in the teaching of the Founder—rapidly established itself in the Graeco-Roman world, and at last forced the civil government of the Empire to relinquish its attitude of hostility and to make a concordat with it.

The Judaism of the Dispersion differed greatly from the Temple worship of Jerusalem, and was much more hospitable to foreign ideas. The Greeks and Romans observed this alien worship with dislike, curiosity, and yet with respect. There was something "philosophic" about Judaism. Its adherents gained from the easy-going Roman government more than toleration; for a non-citizen there were real advantages in becoming a Jew. Judaism was a "religio licita"—a religion recognized by the civil authorities.

At first the network of synagogues provided a nucleus for Christian preaching, but before long conversions of Jews to Christianity became infrequent, and the prevailing Jewish attitude towards Christians was a bitter hostility which found vent in calumnies, too readily believed by the masses, to the effect that the Christian assemblies were scenes of cannibalism and licentious orgies. The Church quickly turned to the Gentiles, adapting its teaching and rites so as to be intelligible to the converts from paganism. The transference of the Gospel to European soil was mainly the work of St. Paul, who must be pronounced one of the greatest men that ever lived, when we consider the boldness of his conception, the vast energy with which he carried it out, and the immense influence of his writings, mere letters though they are in form.

When the Messianic dream of an approaching advent of Christ in glory had faded away, or been relegated to the distant future, the main themes of mission preaching were: the one God, as opposed to polytheism; Jesus as the Lord or Savior; the Resurrection as opposed to the immortality of the soul without the body; and asceticism or self-control, which meant especially sexual purity. There was, however, a philosophical side to the teaching, a Christian Gnosis which resembled the contemporary religious philosophy of the pagans. Arguments from Old Testament prophecy formed a part of popular preaching. But from the first the note of world-renunciation was strongly sounded. The Christians felt that they had no continuing city on earth; Heaven was their home.

PERHAPS the most effective appeal of the Christian missionaries was to point to the social life of the little brotherhood of believers. In the second century, when, owing to the dangers and disabilities which attached to the Christian profession, the half-hearted and insincere were weeded out, the relation of Christians to each other seems to have been almost ideal. Their mutual affection was proverbial among the pagans; there were singularly few moral scandals, and their loving care for the sick and suffering was unlike anything that paganism could show.

REGARDING slavery, the Church did not condemn the institution, or forbid its members to own slaves; but Christian slaves were regarded as brethren and

CHRISTIAN PAINTINGS FROM THE CATACOMBS

Many of the mural paintings in the catacombs are portrait figures of the deceased, often represented in an attitude of prayer. The third-century example (left) depicts a consecrated virgin with the symbolic veil over her head and falling upon her tunic. Variation in pose is shown on the right, where the deceased is depicted as a server of the altar.

From Wilpert, 'Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane'

sisters in Christ, and there was no obstacle to a slave becoming a priest or even a bishop, though this would hardly be possible until the slave had gained his freedom. The honor of female Christian slaves was, of course, respected. The manumission of slaves was encouraged as an act of charity.

Materials are wanting for an estimate of the numbers of Christians at different points of time before the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313). Harnack, after an exhaustive examination of the evidence, concludes that until the middle of the third century the Christians were quite a small minority of the population, but that a large accession to their numbers took place between A.D. 250 and the great persecution.

Though the majority of converts were persons in a humble station, including many slaves—but we must remember that some of the slaves in great families were well educated—we hear, even in the "Acts," of Sergius Paulus the proconsul of Cyprus, and of Dionysius the Areopagite at Athens. Pliny found many Christians "of all ranks" in Bithynia. In Rome we hear before long of a noble lady, Pomponia Graecina, and of the consul T. Flavius Clemens and his wife becoming Christians.

Very early the new faith penetrated into "Caesar's household," and by Cyprian's time some Christians held influential and lucrative appointments at court. In the army it was less prominent, for the Church had certain qualms of conscience with regard to the compatibility of military service with the injunctions of Christ. Tertullian was in favor of forbidding all Christians to be soldiers, but this disapproval did not prevent a considerable and increasing number from enlisting. Attempts were even made to purge the army of Christians, as if their loyalty were uncertain. Several martyr-

doms of soldiers are, however, recorded.

The prominent part taken by women in spreading Christianity will surprise no one. Priscilla, or Prisca, and Phoebe were notable helpers of St. Paul, and three women, Lydia, Euodia and Syntyche, took part in founding the Church at Philippi. Damaris and the four daughters of Philip also figure in the "Acts." There was no chivalrous feeling in favor of sparing women in the persecutions, and, as we might expect, they showed as much fortitude as the men.

In attempting to estimate the relations between paganism and Christianity, we are chiefly dependent on the not wholly impartial testimony of Christian writers. Tacitus and Suetonius both refer to the outrages of Nero upon the Roman Christians. Neither of them has taken the slightest trouble to verify the absurd calumnies which were current in aristocratic circles about the beliefs and practices of a despised sect. Tacitus believes that the Christians worshipped an ass, an invention, possibly of Jewish origin, which seems also to have been believed by Plutarch.

Pliny the Younger's famous letters to Trajan belong to the same period as the history of Tacitus. More must be said of them when we come to the persecutions. Here it is only necessary to state that the same accusations against the character of the Christians were made to Pliny, but on investigation he became convinced that there was no truth in them.

A LETTER of Hadrian makes mention of the Christians in a tone that is caustic rather than hostile. In the time of the Antonines Aristides the rhetorician compares the Cynics with "the impious men in Palestine" (but why in Palestine?) who are the enemies of Greek culture and pour scorn on Demosthenes; they divide households and shirk their civic duties. Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, gives a ridiculous description of a Christian banquet, ending in an obscene orgy. Did Marcus Aurelius him-

JOURNEYINGS OF CHRISTIANITY'S GREATEST MISSIONARY

On his first journey St. Paul started from Antioch and visited Cyprus, Pamphylia and Galatia, returning by sea from Attalia. The second journey took him through Syria, Cilicia and Galatia to Troas, whence he crossed to Macedonia and visited Athens and Corinth, returning by sea to Ephesus and Caesarea and visiting Jerusalem. On the third journey he covered much of the earlier ground and then crossed from Ephesus to Macedonia, visiting Corinth before sailing for Troas and Caesarea.

self believe these libels? We cannot tell. He only says by the way that a man ought to be ready to die with dignity, "not out of pure obstinacy, like the Christians." "Obstinacy" was a natural motive for an official to impute to these troublesome conscientious objectors.

SECOND CENTURY CHRISTIAN BAPTISM IN RUNNING WATER

Apart from their artistic interest, the mural paintings in the catacombs are valuable for the light they throw on early Christian practice. This painting, dating from the second half of the second century, shows a baptism by immersion.

From Wilpert, 'Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane'

More interesting are the references of Galen, the physician:

> Most men cannot follow a chain of reasoning, and therefore they must be taught by means of parables. So we see, in our own time, the men who are called Christians gathering their faith from parables. And yet they sometimes act like true philosophers. We can see with our own eyes that they despise death, and, further, that they are led by a sense of modesty to avoid the lusts of the flesh. For there are some among them, both men and women, who have maintained their chastity unbroken throughout their lives. There are even some who, in self-discipline and self-control, and by their intense desire to attain moral excellence, have advanced so far that they are in no way inferior to true philosophers.

The "True Word" of Celsus was the first systematic attack upon the Christian religion. It has, of course, been lost; we must guess at its contents from the answer to it written many years later by Origen. It contains some shrewd criticisms upon Christian beliefs; but what makes it most interesting is the realization of the author, who writes as an imperial official, that the Empire was in danger, and that the Church was doing nothing to save it.

In his time, Tertullian says, the average citizen was rather contemptuous of than actually hostile to the Christians.

The most serious attack upon Christianity, that of Porphyry the neo-Platonist, barely falls inside our period. His assault anticipated, it seems, much of the rationalist criticism of the nineteenth century. The Christians felt the attack to be formidable, but have left us very little by which we can judge of its contents.

We naturally ask how a government so tolerant in religious matters as that of Rome came to persecute a body of men who took no part in public life, and cannot have been considered politically dangerous.

The new movement of Christianity was disliked as making a breach with established social customs. The conduct of the believers seemed ostentatiously anti-social and fanatical, and sometimes trade interests were directly injured, as at Philippi and Ephesus. Their meetings were held, not in licensed synagogues, but in private houses; and who could tell what went on there under cover of privacy? Jewish malice readily furnished an answer.

It has been commonly supposed that St. Paul suffered as a martyr at Rome, by decapitation, at the end of the two years' imprisonment, or rather detention, mentioned in the last chapter of the "Acts." It is not clear under what law this penalty could have been inflicted on a Roman citizen, and it seems more likely that when his accusers failed to appear—it was a thankless and expensive business for provincials to come to Rome to prosecute a citizen—the apostle was at last released. He may even have fulfilled his intention of visiting Spain; but nothing certain is known of his subsequent career.

The atrocities against the "people popularly called Christians," after the burning of Rome under Nero in A.D. 64, are described by Tacitus, whose ignorance

of Christianity, as late as A.D. 120, is rather surprising. He tells us that Nero, in order to remove from himself the suspicion of having himself ordered the city to be fired, accused the Christians, who were universally detested for their crimes and vices, and caused a "vast multitude" of them to be put to death, with various tortures. This is known to Church history as the First Persecution. The "vast multitude" need not be taken literally in a rhetorical writer like Tacitus; a few hundreds would justify him in using the expression. The testimony of Sulpicius (fifth century) and Orosius, who mention the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, is worth little. But under what law were the martyrs condemned to death? Tacitus says that they were arrested and tried on the charge of arson, and that some of them pleaded guilty. Either confessions were extorted by torture, or, which is perhaps more likely, the subservient court declared falsely that confessions had been made. After this all who admitted being Christians would be sentenced as accomplices.

REPUTED LIKENESS OF JESUS CHRIST

This silver chalice, found at Antioch, dates from the first century and the figures on its open-work container are claimed to be authentic portraits of Christ and His followers. Here the Savior is shown as a beardless man, a dove above Him and at His side a lamb and a plate of loaves and fishes. The lower figures are supposed to be St. Peter (left) and St. Paul.

From Dr. Eisen, 'The Great Chalice of Antioch'

OPINIONS differ as to whether Nero's action "resolved itself into a permanent administrative principle in dealing with the Christians." Did the power of coercion vested in the prefect of Rome authorize him to hunt down Christians at any time, not for any "crime connected with the name," but as Christians, who were known to be "enemies of the human race"? Tertullian says that while everything else connected with Nero has been wiped out, this one institute has survived; the actual phrase seems to be suggested by Suetonius. But later persecutors, so far as we know, never appealed to Nero, and Tertullian himself never speaks of Christians being "hunted down like wild beasts." They were not, in fact, outlawed; it was only when it suited opportunist magistrates to take this line that confession of the name was taken to be confession of the crimes, especially disloyalty to the government, popularly associated with the name.

It is really astonishing how impossible it was to fasten on the Christians any charge of revolutionary aims, a fact which makes the popular comparison of the early Christians with modern Communists utterly ridiculous. The govern-

ment had always a weapon in reserve against the Christians, but it was not at all afraid of them until the third century. Circumstances might arise, however, which seemed to call for interference.

Such circumstances arose in the reign of Domitian, about A.D. 95, when the emperor's cousin, Flavius Clemens, with his wife, Flavia Domitilla, was accused of "atheism." Clemens was executed; his wife, the emperor's niece, was banished to Pandateria. Many others were punished on the same charge. It is almost certain that Clemens and Domitilla were Christians, and their two sons were the destined successors to the Empire, since Domitian had no children.

EARLY CHRISTIANS OF ROME

Women played a prominent part in spreading Christianity, and showed as much fortitude in the persecutions as the men. The catacombs contain many portraits like that on the left (above), both named and unnamed. The Liberius on the right seems from his robes to have been a priest.

From Wilpert, 'Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane'

Under what law were they condemned? Sacrilege was a criminal offence, atheism was not. Domitian probably tried the accused himself, since they were persons of very high standing, and probably strained the law of "majestas" (treason) to cover refusal to worship the state gods. If so, this precedent was not the usual way of dealing with the Christians. It is even possible that they fell victims to the insane jealousy of the tyrant, and did not suffer for their faith at all.

But it may have been at this time that a simple test was established whereby Christians could always be identified without difficulty. The worship of "Rome and Augustus," established almost everywhere, and especially in Asia, where the Christians were strongest, made it very easy to convict the Christians of disloyalty by requiring them to pay formal divine honors to the emperor or his "Genius." This was, in fact, the way in which the majority of the martyrs were sent to their deaths.

It is not likely that the executions under Domitian were very numerous. The Apocalypse, it is true, seems to show a fierce hatred against the Empire which presupposes very severe provocation. But it is probable that this hatred is Jewish rather than Christian, and that the terrible severity of the Romans to the Jews after the war under Vespasian and Titus had more to do with the fury of the apocalyptist than any persecution of the Church. On the other side, we must discount some of the favorable language of the second-century Apologists, who write with a conciliatory motive.

That we have to attach such great importance to the correspondence between Pliny the Younger, governor of Bithynia-Pontus, and the emperor Trajan, illustrates the scantiness of our materials. Bithynia-Pontus was considered a difficult province, so that Trajan thought it expedient to take it away from the Senate and send his own governor, in the person of Pliny, to administer it. In his second

EUCHARIST AFTER THE PRIMITIVE FASHION

The mural decorations of the Christian catacombs do not include a very wide range of subjects. Incidents from the life of Christ are few, and the Crucifixion and Passion never appear. Representations of the Eucharist—the most misrepresented practice of the early Church—are not uncommon; the example above dates from the second half of the second century. The baskets probably refer to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, an incident often illustrated in these tomb frescoes.

From Wilpert, 'Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane'

year of office Pliny came in contact with the Christian problem.

He informs the emperor that a number of persons had been brought before him, and that they were accused of being Christians. He asked them—singly, no doubt—whether it was true. When they said "Yes," he asked them the question a second and then a third time, informing them that the penalty was death. If they persisted, he ordered them to be executed, convinced that such contumacy as this could have no excuse. The letter implies that Pliny was following the custom of the province in such matters.

Trajan's answer is brief and business-like:

My dear Secundus, you have acted quite correctly in deciding the cases of those who have been brought before you as Christians. No general rule can be made which can establish a fixed form of procedure. They are not to be hunted out. If they are charged and convicted, they are to be punished; but if anyone says that he is not a Christian, and makes the fact certain by invoking our gods, no matter what the suspicions about his past, he is to win immunity by his repentance. Anonymous charges are never to be received; they are of very objectionable precedent, contrary to the spirit and practice of our age.

If we read Pliny's letter between the lines, he is suggesting to the emperor that his rule against associations might advantageously be relaxed in this case. Trajan refuses to make any concession of this kind, but he shows Pliny how he may reduce the injustice to a minimum. There were probably very few more executions in Bithynia-Pontus after Trajan's letter was delivered.

Our next document is a rescript of Hadrian, Trajan's immediate successor, to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Syria, about A.D. 124. It is found in Greek appended to Justin's "First Apology," and in Eusebius; there is no reason to doubt its genuineness. It runs as follows:

I have received a letter addressed to me by your distinguished predecessor, Serenus Granianus, and I do not like to pass over his report in silence, lest innocent people be troubled and an opportunity given to malicious accusers to extort blackmail. Therefore, if the provincials plainly desire to support this petition of theirs against the Christians, by bringing a charge against them before the court, I do not forbid them to take this course; but I do not allow them to make use of popular demands and clamour. It is much more just for you to examine the charges if anyone comes for-

OLDEST CHRISTIAN BASILICA

Christian basilicas were adapted from the Roman private house. A typical example is San Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, which dates from the fifth century and is the oldest Christian basilica extant. The floor is marble-flagged and the nave flanked by marble columns with rude acanthus capitals.

Photo, Alinari

ward as accuser. Therefore, if anyone brings an accusation, and proves that the persons named are doing anything unlawful, you are to adapt the penalties to suit the crimes; but you are to look to this carefully—if anyone maliciously brings false charges against any of these people you are to visit him with severer punishments in proportion to his wickedness.

This rescript introduced no change in the legal status of Christians; it is, to my thinking, inconsistent with the theory that since the time of Nero the Christians had been merely outlaws, "like brigands."

Polycarp was martyred in the reign of Antoninus Pius, who is said to have been a good emperor; but his annals, by an historical accident, are almost a blank. The executions of Christians at Rome cannot have been unknown to him. In the reign of his successor, the saintly Marcus Aurelius, occurred the atrocious treatment of nearly fifty Christians at Lugdunum (Lyons); this seems to have been an abominable act of lawless cruelty on the part of the legate, the motive being to please the mob. The Christians by this time had begun to compile "Acta Martyrum," records of "Deeds of the Martyrs," and the martyrdoms, even if not more frequent, were more likely to be recorded for posterity. There is no change of policy to notice in this reign, or in that of Antoninus Pius; but we may observe that the persecutions had now for the first time spread to the West. The emperor was known to be an upholder of pagan orthodoxy, but Tertullian does not speak of him as one of the chief persecutors. The time had not yet come when the Roman government began to fear the Church as an "imperium in imperio"; the plain fact is that the scattered Churches were still too small and loosely organized to be a danger of this kind.

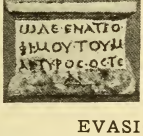
Towards the end of the second century we find a new tone of confidence in the writings of the Christians. Tertullian, in a well-known and doubtless highly rhetorical passage, cries:

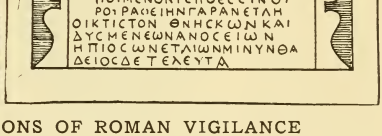
We are of yesterday, but we have filled your whole world, cities, islands, country towns, even the camps, the tribes, the boards

of judges, the palace, the senate, the bar. We have left you only your temples.

Regular churches were now built, and we never hear of a congregation being netted while at worship. The later basilica was an adaptation of a Roman gentleman's house, and we may suppose that the houses of several wealthy Christians were used for divine service. On what legal tenure these unrecognized societies held their buildings we do not know; the authorities knew of their existence and did not interfere with them.

At Alexandria a school of Christian scholarship and philosophy was growing up; the relations between the students of the Catechetical School and those who attended the lectures of pagan professors seem to have been quite amicable. Christianity had become socially respectable.





EVASIONS OF ROMAN VIGILANCE

The small reliquary (left) contains bones of Trophimus, martyred in 281, with an inscription forbidding their desecration. The epitaph (right) has a carefully veiled allusion to the martyrdom of one Gennadius. Such caution was due to the Roman government's prohibition of public veneration of Christian martyrs' remains.

From 'Bulletin of the John Rylands Library'

Nevertheless, we hear of sporadic tortures and executions; Clement of Alexandria, probably with much exaggeration, says that "we see every day before our eyes martyrs roasted, crucified, beheaded." The "peace of the Church" between Commodus and Valerian was no unbroken peace. Strangely enough, Egypt, which had hitherto almost escaped, became the chief scene of persecution in the reign of Severus. The father of the great Origen was put to death. Clement, the head of the Catechetical School, had to fly for his life, and after an interval was succeeded by Origen. In Africa a group of Montanists suffered; their courage and sufferings are perpetuated in the moving "Acta" of Perpetua and her friends.

Meanwhile, the Empire seemed to be falling to pieces. Puppet emperors were set up and murdered; for a brief space the imperial purple was worn by El-Gabal (Elagabalus), a Syrian boy who established the religion of the Syrian sun god in Rome itself. Alexander Severus showed respect to all creeds. He recognized the Christians of Rome as a corporation capable of holding property, and awarded to them a site claimed by the guild of innkeepers, on the ground that it was better that God should be worshipped there, no matter how, than that it should belong to owners of taverns.

The barbarian Maximin, a Goth, who was emperor for a short time (235-238), is inscribed on the roll of persecutors, but he does not seem to have done much to deserve it. Nevertheless, a new period of persecution was at hand. There was a great patriotic reaction; all good Romans felt that it was now or never, if they wished to save the Empire. In 249 this party gained a champion when Trajanus Decius was made emperor. Decius was a man of fine character, a good soldier and a constitutionalist, whose one object was to restore the virtues and the glory of the Roman name. In order to do this, he thought that the most necessary step was to root out the Christian religion.

At the end of 249 an edict—the first edict against the Christians—was issued, perhaps in the joint names of Decius and of Valerian as censor. The wording of it is not known, but it must have required all persons to sacrifice before a certain day. The penalties were, in case of contumacy, torture and death, but it was not desired to make many martyrs. Pope Fabian was executed; Babylas of Antioch and Alexander of Je-

rusalem died in prison. Origen was imprisoned and tortured, and died from the results of his maltreatment. Dionysius of Alexandria was rescued by the country people. Decius was killed in battle against the Goths in the summer of 251, and for a time the persecution died down.

Valerian, who had been censor under Decius, did not interfere with the Church for the first three years of his reign. It seems that his hands were forced by the desperate condition of the Empire, which was being ravaged by numerous hordes of Germans, while the Moors were invading Roman Africa, and the Persians, who had displaced the Parthians as the great power in the East, were threatening the Asiatic frontiers. A very destructive plague was more than decimating the harassed population. The emperor thought that religious unity must be enforced —an antiquated notion which did not seem absurd to a patriotic Roman. Valerian modelled his edict on the old decree of the Senate concerning festivals of Bacchus. "All persons not following the Roman religion must conform to the Roman ceremonies."

The Christians were forbidden to assemble, even in the catacombs. Sixtus, bishop of Rome, defied this edict by ostentatiously transferring the alleged remains of St. Peter and St. Paul from the Vatican and the Ostian Road to the catacombs. This led to a more severe edict, under which Sixtus and four of his deacons were executed. The most illustrious Christian of the time, Thascius Cyprianus of Carthage, was beheaded in Africa. But the number of martyrs was not very great; the object of the government was to destroy the priesthood and close or destroy the churches. This persecution ended like that of Decius by the disappearance of its chief instigator. Valerian was made prisoner by the Persians in 260, and nothing more was heard of him. His son Gallienus stopped the persecution, and the Church had rest till Diocletian made the final attempt to root out Christianity.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS

Before the official toleration of Christianity artists confined themselves to symbols. Most common are the Good Shepherd; the Dove, symbolizing the soul; the Fish ('ichthus'), comprising the initials of the Greek words for Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior; and the Anchor, symbolizing hope.

British Museum

There is no doubt that the Christians increased rapidly in numbers and in power during the forty years which followed the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus. Christianity drew converts from all classes from the imperial family to the slaves, but it was probably strongest in the middle class.

To the modern historian the attempt of Diocletian and his colleagues to root out a religion so powerful and having adherents so enthusiastic must seem the very height of folly. Only partial explanations of their policy can be found. In the first place, the Empire was now becoming thoroughly Asiatic in type. Diocletian was as autocratic as a tsar or Turkish sultan, and his subjects were bound hand and foot under an iron bureaucracy. A government of this type finds it difficult to tolerate a great independent Church. The natural arrangement is Caesaropapism—a privileged state Church as the right arm of the autocracy. This was to be the solution in the East, with Christianity in the privileged position.

But in the time of Diocletian (he reigned from 284 to 305) the Christians were still in a minority, and they were not considered the most patriotic or public-spirited part of the population. Universal conformity was desirable, and must be conformity to the old state religion. To allow the Church to increase in power and in centralization was to permit a rival government within the state, which might at any time become politically dangerous. Besides this, the rough soldiers who engineered the last persecution were really stupid. Their attempt to regulate the finances of the Empire by arbitrarily fixing prices is evidence that they understood very little what the limits of legislation are. As to the cruelties which were practiced during the persecution, we have to remember that the Empire was no longer a highly civilized state. The influx of barbarians had brutalized the provinces, and Italy itself. The penal code tended to become more and more ferocious. "The avenging flames," a penalty very rarely inflicted in earlier times, became the favorite threat against all offenders with whom the state found it difficult to deal.

For twenty years (284-303) the Christians had very little cause for complaint. Diocletian's first persecution was directed not against them, but against the Manichaeans, who, no doubt, were specially obnoxious from their connection with Persia. We do not know what at last induced him to draw the sword against the Church. The persecution began by the destruction of the great church at Nicomedia, then the imperial residence. Two attempts to burn down the emperor's palace quickly followed, and were not unnaturally attributed to the Christians.

The edict issued in the same month ordered the churches to be destroyed and the sacred books burnt, but there were to be no martyrs. But other edicts followed; and when Diocletian was incapacitated by illness, Maximian began to order executions wholesale, while in the East a very large number of Christians were butchered. The atrocities seem to have been worse in Egypt, where as many as a hundred persons were massacred at the same time, and where every kind of torture and mutilation was practiced. The number of victims must have been many thousands, but no estimate can be made.

Won under the banner of Christ, the victories of Constantine brought toleration to the Christians, and nobody seems to have doubted that toleration meant complete victory. But public opinion had already revolted against the persecution. The Christians were no longer hated, and the average pagan was disgusted at the infliction of hideous cruelties upon his inoffensive neighbors. The idea of a Christian emperor, which had seemed incredible to Tertullian, caused no great surprise now. Within a few months after the battle of the Mulvian Bridge in 312, we find Constantine attended by a confidential private chaplain.

Constantine was not baptized till his last illness; he retained the title of pontifex maximus, and for some time allowed pagan emblems to appear on his coins. But he granted indemnities to Christians who had suffered during the persecution, and exempted the clergy from burdensome taxes and obligations—a concession, it is true, already made to some pagan priests and to members of the learned professions. He ordered work to cease on Sundays; he sanctioned legacies to the churches. In these and other ways he showed his favor to the Church. The New Rome on the Bosporus was to be a Christian city, and Constantine did not scruple to despoil famous temples, even those at Delphi, of their artistic treasures to adorn it. It was soon plain, after Constantine had become sole master of the Roman world, that to renounce the old gods was the surest way to his favor.

So at last the Church had peace and victory, and the glorious period of suffering and faithfulness even to death was at an end. The time was at hand when paganism lived on within the Christian Church, a paganism cleansed of its worst stains, but not of its superstitions. Christianity is a collective name which covers a great variety of religions, among which the religion of its Founder has often been obscured but never extinct. It was probably at its purest before the sunshine of imperial favor began to shine upon it. But no institution which has had to struggle for its existence against bitter enemies escapes being hardened and narrowed in the process.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XIII

A.D.
336 Death of Tiridates. Sapor II seizes Armenia.
337 Constantine dies.
Division of the Empire between his three sons: Constantine (west), Constans (middle), Constantius (east).
338 Constantius goes to the Persian war. First siege of Nisibis by Sapor.
340 Constans and Constantine at war. Battle of Aquileia; death of Constantine.
344 Persian victory at Singara.
346 Second siege of Nisibis by Sapor.
350 Third siege of Nisibis. Sapor makes truce with Constantius.
Magnentius murders Constans and becomes emperor in the West.
351 Magnentius defeated at battle of Mursa.
Misrule of Gallus, left as Cæsar in the East.
352 Italy recovered. Magnentius in Gaul.
353 Final defeat and death of Magnentius.
354 Execution of Gallus. Julian at Athens.
356 Julian dispatched as Cæsar to Gaul.
War with Alemanni, Quadi and Sarmatians. Military achievements of Julian.
357 Insolent challenge from Sapor.
359 Sapor invades Mesopotamia. Constantius goes to the East.
360 The Gallic army forces Julian to revolt. His march down the Danube to Mœsia.
361 Constantius dies. Julian emperor.
362 Christians forbidden to teach. Julian's advance against the Persians.
363 Disaster and death of Julian. Retreat of the army which proclaims Jovian emperor. Humiliating peace with Persia. Renewed toleration decree.
364 Jovian nominates Valentinian I and dies.
Valentinian associates his brother Valens as Eastern Augustus and takes the West himself. Permanent duality of the Empire inaugurated.
366 Damasus pope. Social and political influences become a feature of papal elections.
368 War of Valens with the Goths.
369 Peace with the Goths.
369–377 Subjugation of Ostrogoths by Huns.
374 Pannonian war of Valentinian.
375 Death of Valentinian. Accession of Gratian.
India: Chandragupta III Vikramaditya.
376 Execution of elder and retirement of younger Theodosius.
377 Valens settles Visigoths in Mœsia.
378 Gratian defeats Alemanni. Rising of Visigoths. Valens killed at Adrianople.
379 Gratian nominates the younger Theodosius as successor to Valens.
382 Treaty of Theodosius with Visigoths.
383 Revolt of Maximus in Britain; flight and death of Gratian.
384 *China:* Break-up under two dynasties, Sung and Wei.
396 Alaric the Visigoth overruns Balkan peninsula.
397 Alaric, checked by Stilicho, is given Illyria.
The Confessions of S. Augustine.
398 Suppression of Gildo in Africa.
402 Alaric invades Italy; checked by Stilicho.
403 Alaric retires after defeat at Pollentia.
Ravenna becomes imperial headquarters.
404 Martyrdom of Telemachus ends gladiatorial shows.
407 Revolt of Constantine III (Briton), who withdraws the troops from Britain to set up a Gallic empire. ("Evacuation of Britain.")

A.D.
408 Honorius puts Stilicho to death.
Alaric invades Italy and puts Rome to ransom.
409 Alaric proclaims Attalus emperor.
410 Fall of Attalus. Alaric sacks Rome.
411 Athaulf succeeds Alaric as king of Visigoths.
Constantine III crushed by Constantius.
412 Athaulf withdraws from Italy to Narbonne.
413 *India:* Kumaragupta (to 455); great literary era; the Sakuntala of Kalidasa.
414 Athaulf attacks the barbarians in Spain.
415 Wallia succeeds Athaulf.
416 Constantius the patrician marries Placidia.
417 Visigoths establish themselves in Aquitaine.
427 Revolt of Boniface in Africa.
428 St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei.
429 The Vandals, invited by Boniface, migrate under Geiseric from Spain to Africa, which they conquer.
433 Ætius patrician in Italy.
434 Rugila king of the Huns dies; Attila succeeds.
439 Geiseric takes Carthage with Vandal fleet.
440 Geiseric invades Sicily, but is bought off.
441 Attila crosses Danube and invades Thrace.
443 Attila makes terms with Theodosius.
447 Attila's second invasion.
449 Attila's second peace; he receives a subsidy.
Hengist and Horsa in Britain (traditional).
450 Marcian succeeds Theodosius; stops Hun tribute.
451 Attila invades Gaul; is heavily defeated by Ætius and Theodoric I the Visigoth at Châlons.
452 Attila invades Italy, but is persuaded by Pope Leo the Great to spare Rome and retire.
453 Attila dies. Theodoric II king of Visigoths.
454 Overthrow of the Hun power by the subject Ostrogoths, Gepidæ, etc., at battle of the Netad.
455 Geiseric sacks Rome, carrying off Eudoxia.
Avitus proclaimed emperor by the Visigoths.
456 Domination of East and West by masters of the soldiers, Aspar and Alan and Ricimer the Sueve.
457 Ricimer deposes Avitus; makes Majorian emperor.
Marcian dies; Aspar makes Leo I emperor.
460 Destruction of Majorian's fleet at Cartagena.
461 Death of Majorian. Severus emperor.
465 Severus dies; Ricimer rules as patrician.
Fall of Aspar.
466 Euric, of Visigoths, begins conquest of Spain.
467 Leo appoints Anthemius Western Augustus.
468 Leo sends expedition under Basiliscus to crush Geiseric, who destroys it.
473 Glycerius Western emperor.
474 Julius Nepos Western emperor.
Leo I dies and is succeeded by his grandson Leo II, who dies and is succeeded by his father Zeno the Isaurian.
475 Romulus Augustulus last Western emperor.
Usurpation of Basiliscus at Constantinople; Zeno escapes to Asia.
Theodoric becomes king of Ostrogoths.
476 Odoacer the Scirian, commander and elected king of the German troops in Italy, deposes Romulus and resolves to rule independently, but nominally as the viceroy of the Roman Augustus at Constantinople.
End of the dual Roman Empire of East and West.

Chronicle XIII

THE SUNDERING EMPIRE: A.D. 330—476

In the days of Constantine the Great, one vast political organization covered every part of the civilized world that was recognized as civilized by the citizens of the Roman Empire. The Empire held its marches against the barbarians of the north and the Persians in the east; but upon them it could make no effective counter-impression. And their pressure westward and southward increased continually because in the west and the south lay wealth for the winning, but also because from the farther north, and now from the farther east as well, they were themselves subjected to pressure by migrant hordes. For the nomads from central Asia, whom the Chinese called Hsiung-nu and the Europeans Huns, were streaming into Europe past the Caspian.

Organization of Constantine's Empire

The fact which the third century had proved past dispute was that the Empire was too large for control by one man. Constantine did not share his authority as Diocletian had done; but he retained Diocletian's quadruple partition, with a civil governor—a prefect in entire charge of justice and finance, but with no military authority—in each governorship or prefecture, directly responsible to the emperor but to no one else. The two capitals also, Rome and Constantinople, had each a separate prefect. The areas corresponded to the divisions made by Diocletian. The whole was subdivided into twelve "dioceses," each under a "vicar" or vice-prefect, immediately responsible to the prefect, and these again into one hundred and sixteen presidencies or provinces correspondingly subordinated.

On the military side, now completely severed from the civil, the same principle was adopted. The armies in each of the four territorial divisions were under two general officers, "magistri," masters, of the horse and foot respectively; under the eight generals were thirty-five "duces," dukes, of whom some ten enjoyed the superior title of "comites," companions or counts.

Death and Successors of Constantine

At the close of his long reign Constantine was summoned east by the activities of the most dangerous of all the Persian kings, Sapon II (310-381), sometimes called the Great. It would seem that he was at least contemplating a campaign when he fell ill and died at Nicomedia (Diocletian's eastern capital) in A.D. 337 at the age of sixty-four, in the fourteenth year of his reign as sole emperor, and the thirty-first since his accession as Cæsar. Almost at the last he had been baptized; nevertheless the customary divine honors were bestowed on the departed Augustus.

Constantine had destined three sons and two nephews to the succession. Two of his sons, Constans and Constantine, the youngest and the eldest, were absent. With the consent of the third, Constantius, the other members of the imperial family except two young cousins were slaughtered by the soldiery. The Empire was by agreement parted between the three sons, Constantine taking the west, Constans the center and Constantius the east. The eldest of the three new emperors was one and twenty; their two cousins, Gallus and Julian, nephews of the great Constantine, were in 337 aged twelve and six respectively.

Renewed Conflict with Persia

From the outset Constantius was very thoroughly occupied in coping with the activities of the Persian Sapor; but in a short time the two other brothers were quarreling and then actually fighting over the possession of Illyria. The elder, Constantine, was slain in an ambush near Aquileia (340), and the younger, Constans, was recognized throughout the western dominion. Ten years later his reign, too, was brought to a violent end.

Meanwhile Constantius was fighting with Sapor, a much more interesting personality than any of the sons of Constantine. Born in 310, he was already a crowned king when he first saw the light, the ceremony having been performed after his father's death during his moth-

er's pregnancy. In the long years of his minority nothing of note had befallen; but as soon as he came to man's estate he showed vigor, smiting the Arab enemies who had taken advantage of his youth, yet dealing so temperately with their tribesmen that he was accounted a protector rather than a conqueror.

The opportunity of challenging Rome was provided by the condition of Armenia, following the death of the old king Tiridates, who had been reinstated by the peace of Diocletian. That monarch had become a Christian. His zeal for the faith did not find favor with the Armenian nobles, though the personal prestige of Tiridates kept them quiet during his lifetime; but on his death a conspiracy ejected his youthful heir Chosroes. A persecution was set on foot; the rebels appealed to Sapor and the Christians appealed to Constantius. The full extent of Sapor's ambitions was not yet apparent; but he was resolved at least to recover those provinces on the Persian side of the Tigris which had been ceded to Diocletian, and the suzerainty of Armenia, so often a bone of contention between the two great powers. His forces poured into Mesopotamia.

Roman troops—troops, that is, of the imperial army in the East—marched into Armenia, and restored Chosroes to his throne, but with little advantage; for that prince desired only to live in undisturbed luxury, purchased by submission to the energetic Sapor. Armenia was finally absorbed into the Persian Empire, though the old Arsacid dynasty remained on the throne for nearly a century more.

Exhausting War in Mesopotamia

The real seat of the struggle, however, was in Mesopotamia, where the war raged for some years without any decisive result. A most notable feature was the stubborn defense of the main frontier fortress of Nisibis, on the capture of which Sapor three times concentrated huge forces, to be three times repulsed after sieges of from two to three months' duration. Even after the third repulse the attack would have been renewed; but simultaneously there came an urgent call to the west upon the Roman emperor, and to the east upon the Persian; and each could regard with relief a suspension of the exhausting hostilities in the Mesopotamian debatable land.

Nearly nine centuries previously Cyrus, the original founder of the Persian Empire, had fallen in battle with the Massagetæ, the Scythians beyond the Oxus. The same name is given to the Scythian tribes whose irruption now summoned the remote heir of Cyrus to the defense of Persia on her eastern instead of her western frontier; a part, no doubt, of that general ferment among the nomads of central Asia which was about flagellate Europe with the scourge of the Huns.

The West summoned Constantius, because Constans was dead and a new emperor had assumed the purple. The proceedings so familiar in the history of the Roman Empire had been repeated. Constans after his brother's death conducted himself as an irresponsible tyrant. He forfeited the loyalty which was at first given to him because he was his father's son; what remained of it was undermined by the scheming general at his own headquarters in Gaul; and when Magnentius was acclaimed by the legions while the emperor was away hunting, Constans could only flee for his life, to be overtaken and slain on the Spanish coast. Of the three prefectures of the Empire which had acknowledged Constans, two, the Gallic and the Italian, did not hesitate to acknowledge Magnentius (350). In the third, the Illyrian, the soldiery set up their own general, Vetranio. The two new emperors made haste to come to terms and to proffer their equal amity to the surviving son of Constantine in the East.

Constantius, opportunely relieved on the side of Persia, dealt not unskillfully with the situation. Reconciliation with his brother's murderer was out of the question; it was no less impossible to fight Magnentius and Vetranio at once. While he refused to treat with Magnentius, he succeeded not merely in detaching Vetranio, but in persuading him to return to his allegiance. With the army of Illyria now at his back, he could proceed to the critical conflict with Magnentius, which was decided in the sanguinary battle of Mursa in Pannonia, where more than 50,000 of the best troops of the imperial armies were left on the field of slaughter, or drowned in the Drave river. Mursa was not the end; Magnentius still strove to make head, but his troops grad-

ually deserted him; and when those that were yet left with him were on the point of delivering him to his rival, he chose rather to die by his own hand. (353).

Before marching to the West, Constantius had liberated Gallus, the elder of his two young cousins, from what had practically been captivity, to assume the position of Cæsar in the East. As prince of the East in the absence of Constantius, he displayed all the familiar vices of an irresponsible tyrant. But he did not dare to resist a summons from the victorious Constantius, couched though it was in smooth and conciliatory terms, to meet him in the West. When the meeting took place, in Pannonia, short was his shrift. He died ignominiously by the sword of the executioner (354). Save Constantius himself, the only surviving male descendant of the father of Constantine the Great was Julian, the younger brother of Gallus.

Constantius remained in the West for three years more. Julian, now twenty-three, a youth of high promise but wholly without practical experience, was withdrawn from his seclusion in the east and was permitted to pursue at Athens the literary and philosophic studies to which he was devoted; until Constantius was persuaded, very much against Julian's will, to raise him to the dignity of Cæsar and the sovereignty of transalpine Europe, while he himself returned to the East, where the emperor's presence was becoming necessary. The fact that the Empire was too large to be managed without viceroys was once more proving itself; especially since Sapor, having dealt successfully with the Massagetæ, was back on the borders with ambitions renewed. The barbarians, moreover, were again swarming over the upper reaches of the Danube.

So Constantius occupied himself with successful campaigns in that region while his lieutenants in Asia were intriguing with Sapor; who imagined that the time had come for him to assert his claims to the whole empire of Asia. It was impossible not to take up the challenge he issued. Nevertheless, in 359 the Persians would have swept Mesopotamia, if Sapor had not been piqued into pausing to reduce the fortress city of Amida on the upper Tigris, where his army was depleted by the stubborn valor of the besieged. Amida fell at last, and its inhabitants were duly massacred or enslaved; but Mesopotamia was saved and Sapor's field force was withdrawn.

Meanwhile the student Julian had been proving himself a capable and valiant man of action in Gaul and on the Gallic frontier.

A strong man was needed in Gaul; for in the recent civil war Magnentius had called to his aid hosts of the Franks and Alemanni, who promptly assumed the

GUERRILLA WARFARE WITH SCYTHIAN RAIDERS IN THE CRIMEA

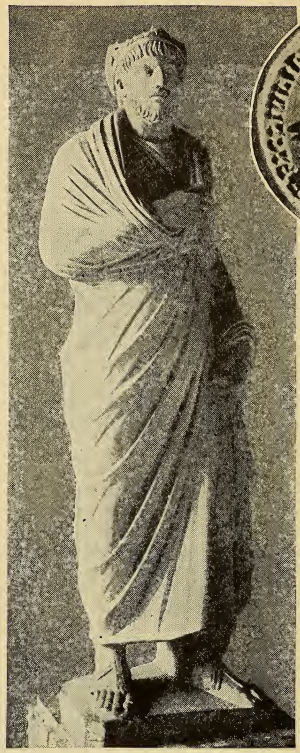
Wherever they dwelt, whether as nomads or as more or less settled agriculturists, the Scythians were troublesome neighbors. This tomb painting from Kertch—the ancient Panticapæum on the Cimmerian Bosporus—depicts a frequent incident: a Panticapæan landowner fighting a troop of Scythian raiders from the Crimean lowlands. The landowner is supported by a well-equipped little army of friends and serfs, and one of the invaders already lies with his horse dead upon the field.

From Rostovtzeff, "Ancient Decorative Paintings"

rôle not of auxiliaries but of conquerors. Despite his inexperience and his academic predilections, Julian proved himself equal to the emergency, winning battles against heavy odds with distinguished personal valor, and restoring law and order in the devastated districts; till the reputation he was winning aroused jealousy in Constantius, whose own credit was being not at all enhanced by his operations in the East, either as soldier or as ruler. Constantius ordered the immediate dispatch of the best of the legions of Julian to the Mesopotamian front; and the legions responded by calling upon Julian to save the Empire by assuming the purple as Augustus.

For some time Julian held out loyally, but the soldiery would take no denial till he yielded, at last convinced that loyalty to the Empire was above loyalty to the emperor. Though he professed to demand only his own recognition as Western Augustus, Constantius naturally refused to look on him as anything but a rebel. When this was made clear to Julian and his legions there remained no alternative but civil war. Constantius, returning from his inglorious campaign in the East to meet the attack from the West, was taken ill in Cilicia, and died (A.D. 361). There was no civil war.

Julian the Apostate reigned for no more than two years. He bears that name because he renounced the Christianity of his earlier years and proclaimed himself the champion of the ancient gods.



JULIAN THE APOSTATE

Owing to his declared paganism Julian (331-363) has been much misrepresented. Actually he was a moral and intellectual man and a brilliant writer. The ascription of this statue to him is supported by the coin above.

The Louvre and British Museum

Julian, to whom in his boyhood the conventional Christianity had not been presented in an attractive light, felt nothing but repugnance for its fundamental doctrine of the Divine Logos incarnate in a Galilean carpenter's son who suffered crucifixion at the hands of the law. His philosophical studies had taught him to graft the ethical conceptions of Stoicism upon an attractively mystic interpretation of the old mythology. His method, however, of suppressing the religion he discarded was not that of persecution in the ordinary sense. He went no further than to exclude Christian teaching and teachers from the schools; while the paganism still fashionable in society gave no zealous support to a paganism founded on the rigid morality of Stoicism. His reformation collapsed of inanition with his death, two years after he initiated it.

When Constantius died in A.D. 361, Julian crossed over to Asia—his title was

unclisputed—and never returned to Europe. The close of his brief life—he was only thirty-two when he died—was occupied with the Persian war. A victorious campaign, in which he penetrated beyond the Tigris, ended in disaster. The army, advancing under the direction of rashly trusted guides whose aim was to lead it to destruction, was almost overwhelmed by the myriads of foes with which it suddenly found itself surrounded. Valor and skill broke every onslaught, but in the pursuit which followed the last repulse, Julian was wounded by a javelin, and was carried back to camp only to die (A.D. 363).

There was no surviving male scion of the imperial house, and Julian had named no successor. The army chose an old soldier, Jovian, who lived long enough to patch up an ignominious peace with Persia and withdraw the exhausted troops behind the Tigris. Six months after his accession Jovian too died. Again the choice of a successor lay with the soldiery, and lighted on a soldier of barbarian (Pannonian) stock and mean descent but proved capacity, Valentinian I (A.D. 364).

Accession of Valentinian I

By his first act, the new emperor recognized the practical necessity for partition; no one man could successfully hold in his own hands for long the responsibility for both East and West. Valentinian chose for himself his native West, and made his brother Valens Augustus of the East. This time the division was permanent, though the Empire still remained nominally one.

For twelve years Valentinian ruled the West with vigor and, apart from the savage mercilessness he was wont to display towards all opposition to his will, with conspicuous justice and moderation. He had been open enough in his own opposition to the pagan zeal of Julian, but for others to emulate his own example was to court death. Nevertheless, despite his own orthodoxy, he was rigid in his insistence on equal treatment for all religions and all sects, pagans, Arians and orthodox Christians. He held the Gallic frontiers with a strong hand against the swarming Franks and Alemanni whom he smote in successful campaigns beyond the Rhine, though he was never able to inflict a thoroughly crushing defeat on them. It was on a campaign against the Quadi on the upper Danube that one of those outbursts of ungovernable rage which marred his character wrought his own undoing—so it was reported, at least—by inducing an apoplexy which resulted in his death.

Perhaps, however, the most significant event of Valentinian's reign is to be found in the struggle for the succession to the bishopric of Rome, the Papacy, which set Damasus in the chair of S. Peter in 366. The victory of Damasus over Ursicinus was the victory not of principle nor of character, but of intrigue and partisanship and successful violence; as it would have been no less had the vanquished been the victor. It meant that the highest office in the Church was the prize of ambition and the reward of intrigue.

On Valentinian's death, his elder son Gratian was at once recognized as his successor, though the emperor had discarded the mother in favor of a wife who bore him a son (Valentinian II) a four-year-old child whom Gratian associated with himself as emperor. Hitherto, all the Augusti had bestowed an official sanction on paganism by allowing themselves to be formerly invested as its high priest, "Pontifex Maximus"; Gratian was the first who found himself unable to reconcile acceptance of the office with the profession of Christianity.

The reign of Valens in the East was as conspicuously feeble as that of his brother in the West was strong. The worst faults of Valens were feebleness and indecision, not brutality; and to these it was due that Sapor in his old age was able to recover a complete if detested mastery over Armenia. The great disaster of the reign of Valens did not befall till after the death of Valentinian.

About the middle of the century the widespread Gothic confederation had been extending and consolidating its sway between the Baltic in the north and the Danube and the Black Sea in the south, under the leadership of Hermanaric the Amal, whom all their tribes recognized as king. But during the same period a new and formidable foe was pouring from Asiatic into European Scythia, the flood of the terrible Huns. Now it rolled down on the Goths. Officially at least the

Goths were now the friends and allies of Rome. Reeling under the shock, the Visigoths sought the aid of Valens, whose succor took the form of granting them wide lands for settlement on the hither side of the Danube barrier. Their vast swarms, only in part disarmed, were ferried across the river by hundreds of thousands, in numbers which had been utterly underestimated; the conditions to which they were subjected were wholly intolerable; and the host of suppliants became forthwith a massed enemy. Valens had in effect sown the dragon's teeth, and the harvest was to reap.

War then raged in the Balkans, a war so critical that Valens called upon Gratian to come to his aid. But Gratian had hardly less serious embarrassments of his own, for the Alemanni were upon him. It was not till he had won a decisively crushing victory over them that he could report himself as on the march to effect a junction with the army of the East. But Valens would not wait. In the neighborhood of Adrianople he flung himself upon the Goths; and in the battle that followed his army was annihilated, he himself perished, and the triumph of the Goths was rendered complete (A.D. 378).

The battle of Adrianople stopped the advance of Gratian. By his own or his counsellors' wisdom he made haste to appoint a new emperor in the East to take in hand the Gothic problem; and his magnanimous choice fell upon Theodosius, the son of a great captain and servant of the state on whom in Gratian's first year the intrigues of traitors had brought the undeserved penalty of treason. The son, who had already had time to show capacity, had been suffered to retire into private life; and was now raised to the purple at the age of thirty-three.

Theodosius took up his hard task with admirable skill and prudence, but no lack of courage. He risked no great engagements; but while he struck minor blows against their divided forces he encouraged their internal divisions; his diplomacy attached some of their leaders to the Empire, for which they had an almost superstitious reverence; and in little more than four years a comparatively enduring if precarious peace was established.

Gratian meanwhile was losing the high reputation he had won. He abandoned the cares of state for amusements not in themselves pernicious, but undignified, which brought him into contempt with the soldiery.

Theodosius had hardly set the seal on his own reputation in 382 by his much applauded treaty with the Goths, when the army in Britain, as in the days of Carausius, renounced its allegiance to Gratian and proclaimed an emperor of its own choice, the Spaniard Maximus, who, reluctantly by his own account, accepted the dangerous honor. In 383 Maximus crossed the Channel with a great force which depleted the garrison of the island, and marched upon Lutetia (Paris), where Gratian was residing. The soldiery in Gaul refused to move. Gratian fled, but was overtaken at Lyons, where he was treacherously assassinated with or without the connivance of the British emperor.

The successful usurper had nothing to fear from the boy Valentinian II—or rather from his mother Justina—reigning at Milan. But he hastened to send an embassy to Theodosius, repudiating and condemning the murder which had been so hastily committed in his name, but justifying his own assumption of the purple and inviting the friendly alliance of the Eastern emperor. Theodosius contented himself with recognizing the title of Maximus in the Gauls and Britain as a third Augustus, provided that the sovereignty of Valentinian in Italy, Africa and western Illyria were unquestioned; and to those terms Maximus agreed.

But the excessive ambition of Maximus wrought his fall. Justina was unpopular because she was an Arian heretic and the West was fanatically orthodox. Maximus broke treaty and invaded Italy. Justina fled to Theodosius with Valentinian and her daughter; the emperor fell in love with the daughter and married her. The cautious policy which had at first seemed likely to prevail with him was blown to the winds, Maximus was promptly wiped out, and Valentinain was restored to the Empire of the West; where, following the death of his mother, he was drawn completely under the influence of the orthodox party (A.D. 388).

His reign was brief although he had barely emerged from boyhood. The

supreme command in Gaul was conferred on the pagan Frank, Arbogast, an able captain who had stood loyal to Gratian and had taken service with Theodosius instead of Maximus. The Frank now gave way to aspirations of his own. After a quarrel with Arbogast, Valentinain committed suicide or was murdered, and Arbogast set up in his place his own puppet, Eugenius, in 392. In 394 Theodosius disposed of the usurper, and divided the succession in East and West between his own sons Arcadius (382-408) and Honorius (384-423). The latter at once became Western emperor, and on the death of Theodosius in A.D. 395 Arcadius succeeded him at Constantinople.

For more than half a century after Constantine's official recognition of Christianity by the Milan decree, religious toleration was the guiding rule of the Empire. The pagan rites had remained by the side of the Christian rites, Arianism beside orthodoxy. That phase ended with Theodosius, who received baptism on his accession, attached himself strenuously to the orthodox party in the Church, not hitherto favored at Constantinople, and pronounced that paganism and Christianity could not live side by side. The destruction of Arbogast and Eugenius was probably facilitated by the fact that they championed the moribund cause of paganism.

The young heirs of the powerful Theodosius were feeble and incompetent. From the death of Theodosius to the disappearance of the Western Empire, mighty figures stalked across a tragic stage, but they were those not of Roman or Byzantine emperors but of barbarians: Vandal, Visigoth, Ostrogoth, Frank; or Hun, more terrible than all the rest. For the dykes had burst, the Western Empire was falling asunder, and the East was barely holding its own.

Theodosius had named as the guardian of his sons and chief of the armies of the West a soldier of approved ability and worth, the Vandal Stilicho. While he was engaged in crushing the dangerous independence of a Moorish prince and tyrant, Gildo, in Africa, the misrule of the prefect Rufinus at Constantinople brought on a great rebellion of the Visigoths—that branch of the Gothic race which Theodosius had settled in Mœsia and Illyria the Ostrogoths remaining beyond the Danube—led by Alaric the Balt (of the family, that is, which among the Goths stood second to the Amals, who were Ostrogoths).

The Goths overran Greece practically unchecked, and wrought much destruc-

THE "SHIELD OF THEODOSIUS"

Theodosius is depicted at the zenith of his power on this fine piece of silver plate at Madrid. He sits enthroned, with his son Arcadius upon one hand and on the other Valentinian II, whose cause he championed against Maximus in 388 and whom he restored to authority as emperor of the West.

From "Annales archéologiques"

work in Africa accomplished, stayed their conquering career. Alaric was in danger of being enveloped, but escaped with great skill; and in fact frightened the court at Constantinople into buying him off by appointing him to the command in Illyria as an imperial officer.

The Goth accepted the position, but as a stepping-stone. Italy was the objective on which he had fixed his ambitions; and in A.D. 403 Honorius and Italy were terrified by an apparently wholly unexpected invasion. The genius of Stilicho, who with amazing energy gathered together troops from every possible quarter, saved the situation. In the duel between the two great captains Alaric met with a heavy defeat at Pollentia, and the caution of the Gothic chiefs compelled him for the time to abandon the contest.

The withdrawal of Alaric only left the way open for a fresh flood of mixed barbarians—worshipers for the most part, as the Goths had been before they elected to call themselves Christians, of Odin and Thor—to pour into Italy in 406, under their chief Radagaisus. They swept over the plain of the Po, over the Apennines into Tuscany on their way to wipe out Rome; but while they delayed to besiege Florence, Stilicho again gathered troops in the north, spread them around the besieging hosts, cut off the supplies of the barbarians and reduced them by sheer starvation. Radagaisus with a third of his forces was compelled to capitulate; he himself was slain; the rest of the miscellaneous horde, Vandals, Sueves, Burgundians, Ostrogoths, Huns, Alans, were deliberately allowed to retreat unmolested across the Alps, and their various bands were soon spoiling and looting in Gaul on their way to Spain—doubtless with reinforcements from their respective homelands (A.D. 406).

Thus, it was only Italy that was quit of the invaders, who in 407 were harrying Gaul; and the harrying of Gaul was the warrant for the army in Britain to proclaim its own Augustus. Constantine III, probably a native Briton, was raised to the purple and betook himself to Gaul to save it from the Germans and add it to his own empire; taking with him not the whole imperial garrison, but a very substantial part of it. The Vandals, to remain permanently in Gaul to dispute possession with Constantine, but took their devastating way through the south and the west to Spain; where they established themselves. On the middle Rhine the Burgundians appear to have remained in effective possession. Constantine pushed on to Spain, established his dominion in Aragon, and succeeded in extorting from Honorius his own recognition as a third Augustus. His movement to Gaul in 407 is commonly referred to as the Roman evacuation of Britain.

Early in 408 Arcadius died, leaving the diadem to the six-years-old Theodosius II. Men believed on all hands that Stilicho, who had married the feeble Honorius to his own daughter, meant to make himself emperor. His enemies formed a plot and gained ascendancy over the mind of Honorius; in the height of his apparent power he was suddenly arrested, condemned without trial as a brigand and an enemy of the "republic," and executed. But no evidence of any treasonable designs on his part was ever forthcoming. Among those most active in his downfall was Heraclian, who was rewarded by being made count of Africa. Of him we shall hear again.

Sack of Rome by Alaric

STILICHO's fall opened the way on the one hand to friendly relations with Constantinople, and on the other to the ambitions of Alaric. It was, in fact, the expression of the simmering hostility of Italy towards men of barbarian blood, and it was followed by the massacre of many of the foreigners in the country, which gave the Gothic king more than adequate warrant for swooping on Italy before the year had been terminated.

Alaric marched straight on Rome, ignoring Honorius at Ravenna. The city was rapidly reduced to starvation, and plague broke out. He demanded all the treasure within it and all the barbarian slaves. "But what will you leave us?" asked the envoys. "Your lives," he answered. He was, however, persuaded to some contemptuous abatement of the terms, to which the unhappy Honorius had to send his sanction. But in the next year the emperor's evasions irritated the Goth into setting up the prefect Attalus as puppet emperor. Honorius,

however, was made safe in Ravenna by the arrival of forces from the East; Attalus declined to be altogether a puppet, and was deposed; further negotiations with Honorius broke down; Alaric lost patience, and on August 24, A.D. 410, he loosed his Goths and other followers on Rome, which suffered a three days' sack.

He did not, however, make himself emperor. He ravaged southward, and was planning an invasion of Africa, the granary of Italy, when at the end of the year he died. The Goths accepted as their king his brother-in-law, Athaulf.

While Athaulf was still lingering in Italy, the empire of Constantine III was collapsing. It extended, we have remarked, from Britain to Aragon. It broke down, partly owing to the revolt of one of his officers in Spain, Gerontius, and partly because, in 411, the place once held by Stilicho was to some extent filled by another able soldier, Constantius. Gerontius was besieging Constantine at Arles, when Constantius intervened on the hypothesis that both were rebels. Gerontius retreated to Spain, where he was murdered; Constantius captured Arles, and with it Constantine, who was executed.

FLAVIUS STILICHO

Stilicho (c. 359-408) saved the Western Empire by his military abilities and under Honorius was its virtual ruler. He fell a victim to intrigue and was put to death at Ravenna.
From a diptych at Monza

No sooner had Constantius returned to Italy, which Athaulf was evacuating, than a new emperor, Jovinus, was proclaimed in Gaul. Athaulf and Jovinus might make common cause, or more probably fall to fighting each other, especially as the Burgundians on the Rhine were supporting Jovinus; and then arose a new complication. Heraclian, the count of Africa, proclaimed himself emperor early in 413, and having already collected a great fleet sailed for Italy. Heraclian's rebellion proved an utter fiasco; he was taken and executed by midsummer; but meanwhile it had not been possible for Constantius and Honorius to take direct action in Gaul. They had bargained with Athaulf, who crushed Jovinus.

Now a hitherto unexploited figure of romance comes upon our stage—the princess Galla Placidia, sister of the very unromantic Honorius. When Alaric sacked Rome, the princess was one of the captives he carried off and kept for bargaining purposes. She left at the imperial court a devoted admirer whose passion she did not return, in the person of Constantius. Honorius wanted her back; so did Constantius. It was part of their bargain with Athaulf that she should be sent back, and also that they should supply his troops with corn; but unfortunately Heraclian's rebellion cut off the corn supply. Consequently Athaulf, instead of returning the princess, married her himself in 414; apparently with her own willing consent, but without that of her brother.

The marriage did not draw Athaulf closer to the imperial court; and, not obtaining from it what he wanted, he carried his Goths and his bride into Spain. There he was murdered (415), and his successor Wallia bargained to make war on the other barbarians in Spain. Placidia was at last sent back

to Ravenna, where she reluctantly accepted the hand of the faithful Constantius. The Vandals, Alans and Sueves in Spain hastened to seek peace with the Empire, which they obtained; and Wallia with his Visigoths were settled in Aquitania instead, as "federates." This meant that they occupied most of the soil upon condition of military service to the Empire, under their own king. A similar settlement was made with the Burgundians on the Rhine. In 417 Wallia was succeded by Theodoric I, who was probably a grandson of Alaric the Gothic king.

The position of Britain at this time is by no means clear. Constantine had not left the island denuded of troops but only depleted. The Roman magistrates and the Roman government did not disappear, but they had to make the best they could of the situation out of their own resources; and the situation was difficult, as the raids of the unsubdued Picts and Scots on the north, Irish Celts on the west coast and Saxon rovers on the east and south coasts increased in intensity and frequency with the increasing weakness of the garrison and the neglect of the Roman channel fleet. But many years were still to pass before the raiders established a permanent footing.

In 421 Constantius was associated with Honorius as Western emperor, but died after a few months. Placidia quarreled with her brother, who had developed an embarrassing affection for her, and retreated with her small children to Constantinople. Honorius, after a reign of twenty-nine years, during which nothing whatever is recorded to his credit, died at the age of forty (423). On the hypothesis of hereditary succession, the obvious heir was Placidia's child Valentinian; but a usurper named John, a rival of no particular merit, had to be suppressed before Placidia could effectively take up the regency in 425.

The leading figure in the West, however, for nearly thirty years to come was Ætius (395-454), a native of Mœsia but of Italian descent. He had Gothic connections, his wife being of a noble Gothic house, and Hun connections because he had passed a long time as a hostage among the Huns. When John the usurper was overthrown, Ætius had been engaged in bringing a Hun force to his aid, but on John's fall made his peace with the reluctant Placidia, and was entrusted with Gaul, where he checked the expansive disposition of the Burgundian Gunther in the east and the Goth Theodoric in the west and south, as well as of the Salian Franks on the Scheldt.

But the most notable movement during Placidia's regency was that of the Vandal-Alan group which had taken possession of southern Spain—whence its modern name Andalusia. In 428 Boniface the count of Africa had broken with the imperial government, and invited the help of the Vandals in his own ambitious projects. Africa offered a more promising field than Spain; the Vandals in a body, led by their crafty and able king Geiseric, crossed to Africa and proceeded to ravage Mauretania in a merciless fashion.

This was not what Boniface had intended. He returned to his allegiance, but when he fought the Vandals he was so heavily defeated that he threw up the contest and retired to Italy, where his rivalry with Ætius brought about an armed conflict in which he was killed (432), while all Africa—the provinces, not the continent—was at the mercy of Geiseric. The position in Gaul was too critical to permit a reconquest of Africa; but Geiseric was quite ready to make peace (435) on terms which left him master of Mauretania and part of Numidia.

In his conflict with Boniface, Ætius was in actual rebellion; but his rival's fall restored his ascendancy, which became a virtual supremacy when Placidia had to surrender the regency on the marriage of Valentinian, at eighteen, to his cousin Licinia Eudoxia at Constantinople (437).

The treaty had no sooner been made with the Vandals than Ætius found himself forced to curb first the Burgundians and then the Visigoths. The former he broke by calling in aid from the Huns, with whose king Rugila he had always been on the most friendly terms; but the remnant were resettled in Savoy. The Visigoths, who aimed at establishing themselves on the Mediterranean seaboard, were pushed back into Aquitania; but Ætius could not spare the energy or the forces simultaneously to hold in check

the continued aggressions of the Vandals in Africa. Gaul kept him very thoroughly occupied.

Vandals Established in Carthage

GEISERIC, then, a man of commanding personality, established over his own people so powerful a sway that, alone among the Teutonic communities, the Vandal kingdom became an absolute hereditary monarchy, in which the king's unfettered will was law. He was the tyrant of the Vandals, because he made the Vandals tyrants over the subject populations. In spite of the treaty of 435, he extended his African dominion till he won Carthage. Then, satisfied of the weakness of Italy, he collected a fleet and, as a preliminary, attacked Sicily.

The menace brought the Eastern Empire to the rescue of the West, and he was held up by the arrival of a Byzantine fleet on the scene. His own resources were obviously limited—the numbers of the whole Vandal nation in Africa are given as no more than 80,000—and Theodosius II wanted not war but peace, being threatened by the Huns; so Geiseric was persuaded to withdraw for the time, retaining possession of Carthage. But the ancient Carthagenian menace to the Empire was again in being, with the Vandal substituted for the Phœnician (442).

The Huns and the Eastern Empire

NOW, however, the storm was gathering in a fresh quarter. We saw the Gothic movement accentuated at the close of the fourth century by the Hun inundation. The Visigoths had placed the Danube between themselves and the Asiatic torrent, but the Huns had brought under their own sway the trans-Danube Ostrogoths, Sarmatians and other barbarians; they had occupied Hungary, and they had extorted blackmail, an annual subsidy or tribute from Constantinople, as the price of peace. Their forces were united under the khan Rugila, who had been the friend of Ætius; and Hun troops appear generally as allies or auxiliaries of the imperial armies, as for instance against the Burgundians, till some time after the death of Rugila (c. 434). Rugila was succeeded by two nephews, one of whom does not concern us. The other was Attila, the Scourge of God.

The dominion of which the Huns were lords extended eastwards indefinitely, and Attila's first years were probably given to consolidating his power in that direction; but in 441 he opened his attack on the Eastern Empire, to which we have been making only incidental references since noticing the accession of Arcadius in 395.

The East, in fact, had not been subjected to the need of constant struggles with the barbarians. Persia had ceased from aggression westwards, having always the Scythian menace on her eastern frontier, and Arcadius had not been long on the throne before Alaric and the Visigoths transferred their attentions from the Balkan to the Italian peninsula. The independent Arab tribes, now beginning to be known as Saracens, might worry Romans and Persians alternately, having their own retreat secured by the wastes of the Arabian desert, but they constituted a menace to neither of the great powers. The Hun advance was engaged with the subjugation of trans-Danube barbarians, and eased instead of increasing the Gothic pressure after the Visigoths had passed within the borders of the Empire.

Theodosius II, succeeding when a child of seven, reigned but did very little ruling—that was left to more competent hands—for forty-two years, till his death in 450, in tranquil respectability; and the Empire enjoyed a placid prosperity instead of breaking up as might well have been anticipated. The coming strife between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities was foreshadowed by the strife between the patriarch Cyril and the semi-pagan prefect Orestes at Alexandria, from which Cyril emerged victorious in spite of his responsibility for one of the most inexcusable crimes of which religious fanaticism has been guilty, this act being the murder of the famous and blameless though pagan Hypatia.

On the death of Honorius, it was to Theodosius that the child Valentinian III owed the Western throne; it was the daughter of Theodosius whom he married in 437; and we have seen how the intervention of Theodosius prevailed on Geiseric to withdraw from Sicily in 441, at the exact moment of Attila's threatening approach to the northern frontier of Danube.

Attila's Boundless Ambition

ATTILA intended to be universal emperor, overlord of all other rulers; and the first step was to make the emperor at Constantinople submit to his lordship. The pretext was that Hun deserters were harbored in the Empire, in breach of the existing treaty. In 441 and 442 he overran a great part of the Balkan peninsula, capturing cities and devastating; but he did not attempt Constantinople, which was virtually impregnable. In 443 Theodosius came to terms; his subsidy or tribute was to be doubled, and a great belt of territory on the south of the Danube was to be left a waste, a no-man's-land, between the two empires. From Attila's point of view, Theodosius had acknowledged himself his tributary. The Hun was still dissatisfied, however, and again overran the peninsula in 447; but he contented himself with a confirmation of the treaty in 449, and, like Alaric, turned his attention to the golden opportunities of the West.

In 450 Theodosius II died. He had named as his successor an able officer, Marcian, with whom Pulcheria consented to go through the form of marriage in order to bring him into the imperial family circle. His brief and prosperous reign—he died early in 457—was distinguished by very judicious financial reforms, and by his repudiation of the Hun tribute; which would undoubtedly have brought Attila down on him but for the lure of the West.

A curious episode had perhaps determined Attila's course. The court at Ravenna proposed to marry Valentinian's sister Honoria to a safe and distinguished but elderly husband; she objected, and sent secretly to the mighty Hun, inviting him to rescue her. Attila accepted the message as a betrothal, and claimed his bride with half of her brother's empire for dowry (450). Valentinian raged and rejected the demand; and Attila marched on Gaul. He told Ravenna that he was coming to save the Romans from the Goths and the Goths that he was coming to take their part against the Romans; but the diplomacy of Ætius, exercised through his lieutenant Avitus, and the intelligence of Theodoric, sufficed to combine Romans and Visigoths against the Hun as being in fact their common enemy.

Defeat of Attila at Châlons

ATTILA swept, devastating, over the Gallic frontier, with Orlèans (the city of Aurelian) as his objective. Theodoric, aroused to the peril, effected a junction with Ætius; Attila began to retreat, turned to bay near Châlons, and suffered a crushing defeat, while Theodoric himself was killed. His son hastened home to secure the succession, and Ætius, following the example so often set by Stilicho, allowed Attila to retire over the border. The power of Attila was not in fact wrecked by the battle, though it was a heavy check to him, and Gaul was delivered from his devastations.

Châlons (451) had been won by the temporary concert of the imperial government with the Visigoths. Even in the next year Attila threw himself on Italy to enforce his demand for Honoria's hand. Ætius could not risk a pitched battle; so that Attila destroyed Aquileia and marched on Rome. Tradition says that he was overawed by the Pope Leo; another story says that plague broke out in his camp; at any rate he did withdraw without attacking the city or being himself attacked, and certainly with no intention of resigning his claims. But in 453 he died or was murdered, and the whole terrifying if flimsy fabric of his empire dissolved. The Huns were helpless without a head: Ostrogoths, Gepids, Rugians, Herulians, rose and overwhelmed them at the battle of the Nedao in Pannonia (454); and the Huns are heard of no more as a power to be reckoned with. The service they had rendered to the Empire in Rugila's day, in checking the Teutons, outweighed the devastations wrought by the invasions and armies of Attila.

Extinction of the House of Theodosius

ÆTIUS, the "last of the Romans," met with the same reward at Stilicho the Vandal. The mind of the emperor was poisoned against him by the wealthy and ambitious Maximus and the chamberlain Heraclius. Valentinian charged the unsuspecting man with treason at the council table, and slew him with his own hand, but the great general was soon afterwards avenged by two of his servants, who slew Valentinian and the chamberlain (455). Two years later Marcian, the emperor of the East, died, and neither in East

nor West was there a son of the house of Theodosius to succeed, nor was there any successor who was nominated by the deceased emperor.

At Constantinople the choice was dictated by the powerful soldier and minister Aspar, an Alan by race and an Arian by creed, who nominated Leo, a Thracian. Leo reigned, not at all as the puppet of the man to whom he owed his elevation, from 457-474. He countered the Teutonizing tendencies of Aspar by recruiting his armies and his ministers from his own people. He secured the succession to his son-in-law, Zeno, an Isaurian.

The twenty years between 455 and 476 saw the establishment of the Teutonic ascendancy in the West and the disappearance of the separate Western Empire, or rather emperor. The Roman Empire, to which the West still owed allegiance, still existed, but its seat was Constantinople, and there was no Augustus of the West.

Chaos and Disintegration in the West

When Valentinian was murdered Maximus bought the crown, and forced the widowed Eudoxia to marry him. Geiseric the Vandal—summoned to her aid, as some say, by Eudoxia—arrived two months later with a fleet. The mob tore Maximus limb from limb, which did not prevent Geiseric from occupying Rome, sacking it with methodical and conscientious thoroughness, and retiring with a host of captives, including Eudoxia and her two daughters, the younger of whom he married to his son Hunseric.

A few weeks later a new emperor was proclaimed by the Goths at Talosa (Toulouse), Avitus, the lieutenant of Ætius, who had been mainly instrumental in bringing the Goths up to the Châlons campaign. Marcian in the East and Avitus in the West both threatened Geiseric, who defied them both. Avitus put his armies under control of Ricimer, a Sueve, but also grandson of the Visigoth Wallia, and Ricimer won a naval victory over the Vandals.

Meanwhile Theodoric II, posing as imperial champion, attacked the Sueves in Spain, breaking but not destroying their power. Avitus was bound closely to the Goths, while Italy detested them, and did not want their championship; Ricimer was a Sueve. Avitus had to beat a hasty retreat from Italy; Ricimer joined in setting up the Roman Majorian, an officer of distinction, as emperor, and the deposed Avitus was consoled with a bishopric (457). Majorian before his death had bestowed on Ricimer the title of Patrician—in effect, first minister—which had been borne by Stilicho, Constantius and Ætius before him. Four years later Ricimer deposed Majorian, and set up a puppet, Libius Severus. Majorian had declined to be puppet, but the fleet he collected against the Vandals met with disaster, a sufficient excuse for his removal. Severus died, and for a time there was no emperor save Leo at Constantinople, till in 467 Leo appointed, as Western Augustus, the Greek Anthemius, son-in-law of Marcian. Ricimer was placated by receiving the new emperor's daughter to wife. Then East and West combined to crush the Vandals, who were masters of the Mediterranean. They seemed on the point of doing so when the craft of Geiseric, aided by fortune, turned the tables on them, and it was the imperial fleet, commanded by Basiliscus, that met with disaster (468).

The Vandal held the commerce of the Mediterranean at his mercy; when the Empire tried to attack him, the stars in their courses fought against it. The Visigoths under the ablest of their kings Euric, were bringing southern Gaul, from the Loire to the Rhône, under their sway. Britain had slipped her cables; and Jutes and Saxons had at last fastened their grip on her eastern and south-eastern shores, though they had not yet penetrated far inland. Northern Gaul was drifting after Britain. To the east of Gaul the Burgundian kingdom was waxing so strong that the Gallo-Romans were looking to it as a counterpoise to the Goths. In Italy, half the soldiers and most of the officers, with Ricimer at the top, were Teutons; while Ricimer himself was still clinging to the theory of a dual Roman Empire and quarreling with his father-in-law, who scorned him as a barbarian and whom he despised as a "Greekling."

Deposition of the Last Western Emperor

In 472 Ricimer resolved to depose Anthemius, against whom he advanced, having proclaimed in his room

Olybrius, the husband of the elder daughter of Valentinian. Anthemius was taken and put to death, but within a few weeks Ricimer died. For a time his place was taken by his Burgundian nephew Gundobad. Olybrius died, and after some delay Gundobad set up a puppet, Glycerius (473), whom Leo at Constantinople declined to recognize. Gundobad returned to Burgundy, and Leo proclaimed Julius Nepos; while Glycerius exchanged his diadem for a miter (474). Next year Julius was a fugitive from Rome, ejected by his master of the soldiers, Orestes, who made his own son, contemptuously known as Romulus Augustulus, emperor. At the same time Zeno, the successor of Leo, was a fugitive from Constantinople, ejected by that Basiliscus whose fleet had been annihilated by Geiseric. Both the usurpers fell in 476. In the East Zeno was restored; but in the West the power was seized by the Scirian Odoacer. And Odoacer chose neither to be Augustus himself nor to serve another Western Augustus, but to be the viceroy of the one Roman Emperor at Constantinople.

Events in China and India

In the Far East during this period China was in a state of political disintegration. A Chin or Ts'in dynasty was more or less predominant, with its capital at Nanking, when Constantine the Great was transforming Byzantium into the capital of the Roman Empire. Buddhism was in considerable favor, and some of our information about India, where that creed still survived in some strength, is derived from the Chinese Buddhist Fa-Hien (or Fa-Hsien), who paid it a prolonged visit in the first decade of the fifth century.

Before that time was reached, China (c. 384) split into two main empires, of the North and South; the Toba dynasty reigning in the north, while in 420 the Tsins in the south were displaced by the Sungs. The dynasty founded by Toba is better known as that of the Northern Wei. Both the Sungs and the Wei had to deal with subordinate or insubordinate kings, besides occasionally fighting each other. And their monarchs died at frequent intervals, usually by violence.

In India, on the other hand, the period was one of prosperity. The "Indo-Scythian" Kushan monarchs still reigned at Peshawar, though their greater dominion had broken up when Chandragupta (to be distinguished from the Maurya) inaugurated the Gupta kingdom or empire in Magadha, about 320. A succession of powerful monarchs, each ruling for many years, gave to it a sway as wide as that of the Mauryas.

Kumaragupta (413-455) was the monarch in whose reign flourished the greatest, perhaps, of Indian poets, Kalidasa, the author of Sakuntala. Through Kumaragupta's rule and that of his successor, Skandagupta (455-480), the majesty of the Gupta empire continued undiminished; for the latter drove back triumphantly the new hordes pouring into India through the north-west passes, by way of which came the similar invaders who in the next generation broke through the defenses.

Prosperity and Culture in India

But the wreckers were coming; for at the time when the Huns who had migrated to Europe were rising to the height of their power and falling plumb to the depths again, their kindred in Central Asia were hammering the eastern borders of Persia and beginning to advance southwards. It was a Hun invasion that was stemmed by Skandagupta —not the last of the Guptas, but the last of their great emperors.

THE GERMANIC INVADERS: THEIR ORIGINS AND CULTURE

WHAT ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY CAN TELL OF THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS TO WHOM THE EMPIRE BOWED

By W. O. L. COPELAND

Assistant Editor of the Universal History of the World

When in 330 Constantine fixed his imperial residence at Byzantium he altered history. To us, looking back on the part that the city was to play under its new name of Constantinople, it seems as though he must have foreseen the birth of Mahomet; but, although it is true that a rejuvenated kingdom of Persia under its Sassanid dynasty was proving quite troublesome enough to constitute an Eastern Problem worthy of his attention, yet those on whom he had his most watchful eye were probably folk of a very different stamp: folk whom we have met at intervals since the days of Marius, who had shattered the legions of Decius eighty years before and devastated the Balkans until defeated by Claudius Gothicus, who had poured from their homes on the Black Sea in disastrous maritime raids through the Bosporus that Constantinople was now to guard. They were the Germanic peoples.

The period that concerns us starts from the moment when people of Germanic speech and independent culture can be recognized in the north of Europe, and ends with the establishment of more or less settled kingdoms, Germanic still but freshly oriented by their heritage from the great empire of the south, by their Roman subjects, by Christianity and a whole host of complex factors.

Owing to their remoteness from the seats of Mediterranean civilization it is at first only as occasional invaders that we hear historically of Teutonic tribes. The Bastarnae, a people said to be German, anticipated the Goths by moving to the shores of the Black Sea and threatening the Greek colonies in the second century B.C. The Cimbri and Teutones—the latter a single tribe which, like the Alemanni, has given to the whole race one of the names by which it is known—were defeated by Marius and Catulus on the soil of Italy in 101 and 102 B.C. Some thirty years later Ariovistus invaded Gallic territory in circumstances of which we have a record left by Julius Caesar, who drove him back across the Rhine in 58 B.C.

The years that followed must have been of incalculable importance for the fate of the Germans. Outwardly little happened. Fighting attended the rectification and adjustment of the Roman frontiers, but it was of little moment except for the one unforgettable disaster in which Varus lost his life and his legions; and that was the result of Roman rather than German aggression. But contact with the superior civilization of Rome must have wrought a subtle change in the temper of men's minds; Germans in ever increasing numbers were drafted into the Roman armies, first as irregulars for temporary service and later on a more permanent footing as 'auxilia'; time-expired soldiers were settled in military frontier colonies, where their Latin-inscribed tombstones still survive to show the influence that they must have radiated into the hinterland, or that those who returned to their own folk must have carried with them; finally articles of Roman commerce steadily penetrated northwards, and are found in great numbers even as far afield as Denmark.

It can scarcely be maintained that by itself this psychological change sufficed to set the 'Völkerwanderungen' or Migrations of Peoples in motion, but it was probably a contributory factor, and it almost certainly determined the form in which the phenomenon was manifested. Perhaps the immediate exciting cause was a westward pressure of Slavs along the coast of the Baltic, but of this there is no direct record. At any rate, a people

called the Goths, one of the easternmost of the Baltic tribes, were the first to move; and they remain throughout in many ways the most interesting, historically, socially and artistically.

According to the tale recounted by Jordanes, they dwelt originally in the 'island of Scanzia,' which must mean the south of the Scandinavian peninsula, and took ship thence to the lands where we first find them. Whether this be true or not, it was an event of the remote past; at least five centuries, and not the reign of five kings as Jordanes says, were the term of their sojourn, for Pytheas (c. 350 B.C.) mentions the amber-gathering 'Guttones,' and amber is a product of the south-eastern Baltic shore. Their new, and only authentic, move began in the second century A.D., and brought them from sea to sea, from the Baltic to the Euxine. If only there remained a personal account of that epic journey!

It cannot have been unopposed. Jordanes is our only authority, apart from the indubitable presence of the Goths on the north coast of the Black Sea; but the sudden boiling over of the Marcomanni that called Marcus Aurelius to the Danube frontier in A.D. 165 must surely be connected with it. The Marcomannic wars were the first sign of trouble for the Roman world, and are usually accepted as ushering in the second phase of our subject, the Age of Migrations.

The same Marcommanic campaign behind which the Gothic movements can be detected affords us a glimpse of the Vandals and the Lombards, but neither of these gives serious trouble to the Roman world for some time to come. The Goths hold the field, first as 'foederati' of the Roman Empire, then as implacable enemies when the annual gifts are withheld in the middle of the third century. There followed the raids by land into the Balkans and by sea through the Bosporus, which were ended by the victories of Claudius Gothicus and by the abandonment of Dacia under

GERMANIC INVADERS OF THE EMPIRE SEEN THROUGH ROMAN EYES

The irregulars serving under the Romans are shown by the portion (left) of the Column of Trajan; while the chief's sons herded by the Roman captor (right), from the Column of Marcus Aurelius, give an impression of the independent tribes.

Left, from Cichorius, 'Die Traianssäule'; right, from Petersen, 'Die Marcus-Säule'

Aurelian (270). Shortly before, we hear for the first time of the Franks on the lower reaches of the Rhine, the Salian Franks in Holland and Belgium and the Ripuarian Franks farther inland.

The Goths who occupied Dacia were the Visigothic branch; those who remained in Scythia the Ostrogoths. Whether these names really mean 'West' and 'East' Goths is doubtful, but certainly from the moment when we first see the race divided the two branches maintain that geographical relation to each other through all their wanderings.

The next event after nearly a century of peace is the appearance of the Huns, who in 376 drove the Visigoths, now Christianised largely through the missionary efforts of Ulfilas, across the Danube into Roman territory. Their arrival was in friendly guise and by Roman permission; but for the treachery and stupidity of the Eastern emperor Valens their presence might have been of the utmost value. But hostilities broke out and Valens was slain at Hadrianople, that most ghastly of Roman defeats that takes rank with the annihilation of Varus by Arminius and of Decius by Cniva. In the meantime the Huns had thrust a wedge between these Visigoths and their Ostrogothic kinsmen, who were pushed north-westwards inland from the Black Sea and partly subdued to the Hunnish confederacy.

From their seat on the middle Danube the Vandals in a whirlwind migration descend on Spain in 409 with a motley horde of Sueves and Alemanni, and from their new home in the Balkans the Visigoths are led by Alaric to the sack of Rome in 410. From Italy the Visigoths march on to Gaul in 418 and thence to Spain a few years later, where endless bickerings with the Vandals bid fair to destroy both races. The timely invitation of the Vandals into Africa, however, leaves the Visigoths free to establish a kingdom on both sides of the Pyrenees with its capital at Toulouse. At this time the Burgundians are dwelling on the middle Rhine, round Worms. Smitten by the Huns in 437, they are transferred to the district south of Lake Geneva by Aetius, after his victory in conjunction with the Visigoths over Attila. The dispositions in the fifth century then are: Vandals in Africa, Visigoths in Spain and Gaul, a Roman emperor still in Italy, the Ostrogoths still in the hinterland.

NORTHERN CHIEF IN FULL ARRAY

This figure of a chief has been reconstructed from objects (third century A.D.) found in the moss-bogs of Nydam and Torsbjaerg in Jutland. The corslet of iron ring-mail and the silver head-dress and mask-visor are rare possessions. The great sword is of the 'spatha' type.

From G. Stephens, 'The Old-Northern Runic Monuments'

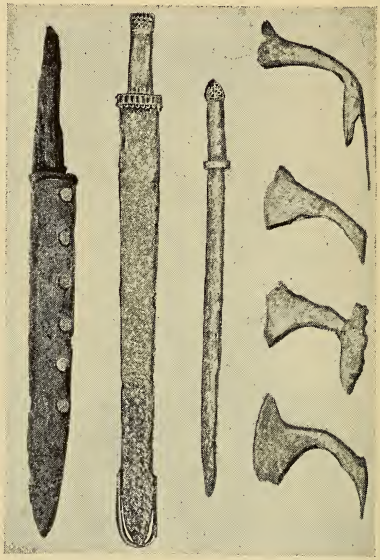
Franks and Ostrogoths contrive the next change of scene. Clovis accedes to the kingship of the Salian Franks in 481, and while he is engaged in conquering North Gaul Theodoric the mighty Ostrogoth leads his people into Italy (nominally as a pro-Roman against Odoacer, who has deposed the last emperor) and there sets up a brilliant kingdom (496). In 507 Clovis drives the Visigoths over the Pyrenees, while the Burgundians are

absorbed. Dispositions, therefore: Vandals in Africa, Visigoths in Spain, Franks in Gaul, Ostrogoths in Italy; the Lombards are apparently occupying Hungary.

The campaigns of Belisarius in 534 broke the power of the Vandals in Africa and restored it to the Eastern Roman Empire; but the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom by him and Narses left Italy wide open for the Lombards, who poured into the plains of the Po under Alboin in 568 and spread devastatingly southwards.

All the evidence seems to show that the original home of the Germanic peoples was in the region between the lower courses of the Elbe and the Vistula, including Slesvig-Holstein, Denmark and the southern portion at least of the Scandinavian peninsula. There they acquired their distinctive languages and customs. Whether they were 'autochthonous' in the rigid sense is another matter; Tacitus believed so, but the only reason that he advances is the repellent nature of the climate, such that no one would deliberately choose to migrate thither from any other land—a naïve enough theory. We with our still incomplete but more varied sources of information must beg leave to doubt him.

For one thing, we know that however unpleasant the weather in the days of Tacitus, it had been far worse before. The Scandinavian ice cap that was a legacy of the last ice age advanced and retreated over the Baltic region long after the rest of Europe was habitable; and even after it had finally gone, perhaps no more than 10,000 years ago, the dreary marsh-land that it left behind harbored at least two peoples, from whom alone it seems impossible to derive the German stock.



TYPICAL GERMANIC WEAPONS

The knife-like form of the 'scramasax' is seen on the left, while the axe-heads (right), for throwing as well as striking, have the typical up-tilted shape. The 'spathas' (center) were found near the site of the Battle of Châlons, where Visigoths and Romans defeated Attila.

Nuremberg, Troyes and St. Germain Museums

What first gave an individual imprint to the population was most probably the irruption of peoples from the steppeland of South Russia, peoples who in the view here adopted are the only ones entitled to be called the original 'Aryans.' Now there is a fair unanimity among ancient writers that the typical German was large-framed and fair-haired, with greyish-blue eyes; was this the original mark of the Aryan, preserved uncontaminated in the north, or did it characterize peoples already dwelling there when the Aryans arrived?

We may think of the Aryans, as showing a tendency to fairness that disappeared with varying degrees of completeness in other parts of the world but became fixed, and probably accentuated, in the north. It would be going too far to deny any mixture of blood; the Germanic languages, for one thing, with the consonantal changes that mark them off from the rest of the Aryan family, are suspected of having been garbled by alien lips.

The material culture enjoyed by these

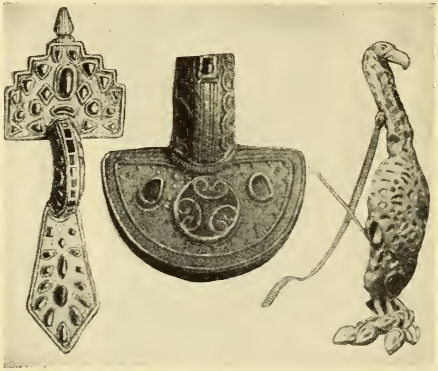
dwellers in the north in the earlier periods has been dealt with elsewhere. Bronze reached them late, and the Bronze Age lasted later than in the south, but the exquisite work that they achieved in the metal shows that this was due to their remoteness and to no lack of skill or inventive capacity.

Manners were very like those of the Celts, except that the Celts were socially more advanced and approximating to something like a territorial kingship. Among the Germans there was no uniformity, some tribes acknowledging an hereditary king, others apparently electing officers in an emergency; kingship was most developed among the Goths, but in no instance was the kingly power unlimited. The check was the voice of the whole free community, meeting at stated intervals or summoned for sudden business. The king or the chiefs, as the case might be, prepared the matter in hand and expounded it, but the priests seem to have had the greater coercive power both in convening the assembly and keeping it in order when convened; all had the right of discussion in turn, each one according to his rank or renown. These priests, too, were the only judicial officers.

Women occupied a high place in the community, which was strictly monogamous. In battle they encouraged their kinsfolk with blood-curdling cries, succored the wounded, and even mingled in the fray to give greater effect to their exhortations.

The general (but not universal) practice of cremation at this period robs us of the evidence that the tomb furniture of inhumation burials usually gives about arms and household gear, but there is no reason to suppose that the warrior's equipment differed in anything but less elaboration from that of the Migration Period.

One most interesting feature that Tacitus records, and that goes far to establish the accuracy of his observations, can be observed full blown in the heroic poetry of the later Migration Age, and seems to contain in itself the germ of medieval chivalry. It was the custom for a chief to surround himself with a retinue of young warriors, his 'companions'; his prestige in peace and his success in war depended on their numbers and their valor. Liberality was the quality in a chief that his companions demanded, and they might be attracted to his service from distant tribes if his renown travelled so far; the tie was then purely personal—as Tacitus succinctly puts it: 'The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief.'



RICH FASTENINGS THAT BEDECKED TEUTONIC GARMENTS

Teutonic dress demanded many fastenings, and fibulae are the commonest contents of the graves. They are partly descended from La Tène prototypes, partly copied from late classical models, and often executed in an Eastern spirit. The last point is especially apparent in the eagle fibulae from Petrossa (right). Of the others, (from Szilagy Somlyo, Hungary), the right-hand one has cloisonné enamel, which both in this and its champlevé form is rarer than inlay.

From Professor Baldwin Brown, 'Arts and Crafts of our Teutonic Forefathers'

Another custom that was destined to bear fruit was the reciting of martial poetry. It was these rude strains which, when transferred to the court of the chieftain, engendered such courtly heroic poetry as the Beowulf epic.

Corn only was cultivated, fruit-trees being unknown—a striking contrast with

modern Germany, where orchard-blossom lines the the roads. From the corn the national beer was brewed—less of a contrast. The costume is represented as being wild and scanty, no more than a single cloak in the coldest weather; but again we must remind ourselves that Tacitus is speaking from knowledge of the south-west frontier, and things may have been different farther north. He is supported by the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which shows many Germans either naked but for a cloak or wearing only the 'bracae' (breeches); Tacitus, strangely, does not mention these in so many words. Hair was sometimes left long, sometimes not; sometimes not cut before the fulfilment of a vow. Certain tribes wore topknots, like a bronze figure in Paris, and the attention given to the hair is illustrated by the combs and shears found in many later graves.

FRANK OF THE TIME OF CLOVIS

Just as the Denmark moss-bogs justify a reconstruction for the beginning of the period, so the later inhumation graves yield material from which this model of a Frankish warrior at the end of the Migration Age has been made.

Mainz Museum; courtesy of Professor Baldwin Brown

This was the people whose contact with the civilized world to the south of them produced a phenomenon that can, indeed, be paralleled in other ages and among other people but is sufficiently rare to be of absorbing interest: to the historian it appears as the Age of Migrations; its social and cultural counterpart is known as the Heroic Age.

Peoples on the whole are obstinately static if left to themselves, and behind almost every movement of the times we can detect the restless spirit of some emancipated chieftain with his band of like-minded warriors.

Proofs of this multiply from every quarter, but it is in the poetry actually surviving from this Teutonic Heroic Age that it is seen most clearly, because it gives an unselfconscious picture of the times from within instead of the objective records of Latin and Greek historians, who little understood the social significance of what they saw and suffered.

In it we clearly perceive the development of the 'comitatus' or band of young warriors attached to the king already described by Tacitus. The other notable custom recorded by him, however—that of limiting the power of the kings—has almost entirely gone. The measure of a king's power is now the prowess and loyalty of his 'comitatus,' and that loyalty he can command utterly so long as in his own person he is sufficiently generous and brave.

In religion, the spirit is harder to trace, for the poems have gone through a process of Christianization that has left the pagan background but excised all reference to gods by name. The first complete picture of Teutonic religion that we receive is in the far later Icelandic cycle of mythological literature, where Othin is a universal and not a tribal god, who presides over both a well

regulated pantheon and a common home for the souls of the cremated dead. Now there is a certain amount of evidence that the main features of this system go back to the Heroic Age; the Saxon kings, for instance, mostly traced their pedigrees back to Woden (Othin), and Wodan with his wife Frea (Frigg) occur in the seventh-century Latin tract giving the legendary history of the Lombards, while other instances can be inferred from the identifications with Latin gods that occur even as early as Tacitus.

Towards the end of the period we are in a better position to speak of arms and dress than heretofore, because of the growth, or resumption, of inhumation; just as inhumation was more prevalent in classical Greece than the cremation of the Homeric Age. In these graves a complete tomb equipment was buried, until the growing strictness of Christian practice put an end to it. Defensive armour was still rare—helmets and breastplates are often Roman importations and belonged, no doubt, only to chiefs.

The ordinary equipment is the axe, with up-tilted blade to facilitate its use as a missile weapon, and the 'scramasax' that seems to be a development from the domestic knife. It is heavy, one-edged, short and broad, average specimens measuring two feet in length and two inches from the blade to the thickened back. Then there is the normal spear or 'framea,' as described by Tacitus, and the 'angon' that is merely an adaptation from the Roman 'pilum' bows and arrows were known and used.

The art, as one might expect, shows strong Roman influence, but this is not overpowering and one must concede much to the native genius. What seems to have distinguished it from late classical art on the one hand and its La Tène prototypes on the other is influence from an unexpected quarter—the East—manifesting itself in a love of colored inlay, though true enamel work is rare. The so-called Petrossa treasure, found at Buzeu in Rumania and consisting of gold dishes, fibulae and basket-like vessels, shows it; so does the eighth-century treasure with its mixture of late classical, oriental and barbaric motives unearthed at Nagy Szent Miklos in Hungary.

There remains the question of the Runic alphabet, or 'futhorc' as it should be called—a word formed of its first six letters. The forms of its original twenty-four letters show that it was devised for carving on wood, but naturally hardly anything in this material has survived; there is one lance-shaft found in the moss-bogs of Kragehul in Fyn, which, with those of Nydam and Torsbjaerg, yield the earliest inscribed objects from the north of Europe (third century A.D.). Germany itself is curiously deficient; but from the south comes a gold ring, part of the Petrossa treasure, which may bear the earliest known inscription. It has been translated 'Sacred to the Temple of the Goths'; and the suggestion has been made that it was part of the spoil dedicated after the defeat of Decius.

Thus early were the Germans transmuting the civilization of the south to their own ends.

DECAY OF THE WESTERN POWER AND ITS CAUSES

THE INWARD REASONS OF THE DECLINE THAT LEFT EUROPE A PREY TO BARBARIAN INVADERS

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In his monk's cell at Bethlehem in the year 410 St. Jerome had begun to dictate his commentary on the Book of Ezekiel when the news came that the city of Rome had fallen into the hands of Alaric the Goth. "My mind was so confounded," he writes, "that, as the saying goes, I could not remember my own name. For a long time I did not speak a word; I knew that this was a time for tears." "The city which had taken the world captive had itself been captured."

But Alaric spent only three days in Rome; he marched to the south of Italy and was contemplating the passage to Africa when he died. The Goths continued their wanderings and entered Gaul. The capture of Rome might well seem but one more defeat in that long story of Roman reverses which had time and again been wiped out in Roman victory. Only a few years after Alaric's entry into the Western capital a pagan poet could contemplate the future of the Empire with unshaken confidence. Rutilius Namatianus, called back from Rome to his native Gaul, can hardly tear himself away from the city "which had made diverse peoples a single fatherland"; Alaric could not break in a day the faith which was based upon the history of a thousand years.

To us it will always appear somewhat strange that the fall of Rome has left so slight an impress upon the literature of the fifth century; we seem to trace a conspiracy of silence among the Roman writers of the period. We shall only begin to understand the outlook of the contemporaries of Alaric when we have tried to put the capture of Rome into its historical setting, when we know something of the life and the thought of the time.

The fourth century is a century of transition. That is a truism which has been repeated so often that at times we fail to realize how true it is. We are so accustomed to regard Constantine as the founder of the Christian Empire that we are apt to underestimate the strength of paganism in the Roman world; we know the issue of the struggle between the older faith and the new creed, and thus we antedate the triumph of Christianity. We write our history from the imperial edicts which proscribed the pagan worship, but the very violence of the language of those edicts and their constant repetition should give us pause. These are the challenges of men who know that they are fighting a battle against a living tradition; they are not the assured decrees issued after an unquestioned triumph.

From Constantinople, the Empire's Eastern capital, Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine the Great, had sought as a Christian sovereign to hasten the triumph of the religion that he professed; in the East Christianity was strong, and Christian victory seemed within his grasp. When late in his life Constantius visited Rome, the majesty of Rome and the compelling power of a historic tradition took a Christian emperor captive. The effect of that visit is reflected in the temper of imperial legislation during the following years; Constantius had learnt a lesson, his precipitate zeal was chastened. The pagan reaction of Julian the Apostate was followed, not by a reinforcement of the legislation of Constantius, but by an edict of toleration, and in the western provinces of the Empire Valentinian I followed the same policy.

It was only with Theodosius the Great that the Empire finally adopted orthodox Christianity as the religion of the Roman state, and still that state entrusted to pagans its most responsible posts alike in

the army and the civil administration. The Roman Senate charged its foremost representatives to plead with the emperor for the retention in the Senate House of the Altar of Victory, the symbol of Rome's pagan past. Even under Theodosius I the Christian senators of Rome can hardly have been in the majority; from the legislation of his reign it is clear that many Christians were lapsing into paganism. The tradition was not dead.

As modern students of this period of transition we read the literature of controversy, and from it we recover the bitterness of the religious struggle; we read less often the private letters which have been preserved. We sometimes forget that Christian and pagan, despite this religious controversy, were bound to each other by ties of personal friendship; that an Ambrose and a Symmachus—the Christian and the pagan champion—could respect each other and could maintain a correspondence which was untroubled by religious differences. The cleft between pagan and Christian in the fourth century was no impassable gulf; there was still a common ground on which they could meet, and that ground was the common inheritance from a Roman past.

Indeed, it is at this time that men seem as never before to become conscious of the historic achievement of Rome; while, since the Empire had become a Christian Empire, the Christian no less than the pagan would claim his part in that achievement. Rutilius Namatianus, the pagan poet, could write in his apostrophe of Rome that she had made the world a single city, while Claudian in majestic lines, here quoted from Professor Phillimore's translation, could tell how

Alone she gathers to her bosom those
Whom late she vanquished: citizens, not foes,
She calls them now. Their conqueror they proclaim
Mother—not mistress. So her general name
Enfellowships Mankind, makes fast, with bands
Of love devout, the far-off daughter lands
That, whereso'er we range, 'tis all one race—
Debtors to her by whose peace-making grace
No place is strange, but everywhere a home—
One world-wide family all akin with Rome.

To Orosius, the Christian apologist of the fifth century, Rome still stands unshaken. Everywhere throughout her Empire he can find his fatherland and his religion; wherever he goes, as Roman and a Christian he will find Romans and Christians.

To men schooled in the tradition of Rome, convinced that Rome's past was a pledge for her future, to men who had seen so many enemies humbled and accepting Rome's behests, it was not unnatural that the capture of Rome should seem but a passing incident, that men should think that, once the Goth had retired from Italian soil, all would go on as before. But that hope was not to be realized. Between the barbarian conquerors of Roman provinces and the barbarian king-makers Roman power in the west of Europe steadily declined. It is this decline of the Roman power in the West that we are to study here.

But, at the outset, there is one fact which creates for the student of the history of western Europe in the fifth century a peculiar difficulty. No record of that history exists, and there is no reason to suppose that any such record will ever be recovered. It is, indeed, very doubtful whether there ever existed such a record. For though contemporaries wrote much, they would seem to have been peculiarly shy of attempting to write history.

Thus the only histories of the period which the modern student possesses are chronicles incredibly meager, disappointing beyond belief, which hardly ever give an answer to the most elementary of those problems which must first be solved before a history of the period can be written. And for Italy during this century, when once Claudian's poetry fails the student in the first decade, he cannot supplement these chronicles from other sources. For Gaul he has the correspondence of Apollinaris Sidonius, and consequently he can sketch the daily life of the Gallo-Roman aristocrat; but that correspondence takes singularly little notice either of the barbarian menace or of imperial policy. Other provinces hardly count in the history of the decline of the Roman power in the West, for Britain was abandoned by the Roman legions about A.D. 407, Africa was in Vandal hands, while, in Spain, Rome with difficulty held a fraction of her former conquests. It was in Gaul and Italy

that the struggle was waged, and between these two close contact was long maintained.

In Gaul, amidst the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, there was the same conscious preservation of the Roman tradition as in the capital itself, and that tradition was so clearly defined and so uniform, it had been cultivated with such energy in the Gallic schools of rhetoric during the fourth century, that the picture of the provincial aristocracy as drawn for us by Sidonius can doubtless be regarded in most of its features as truly representative of Roman culture in the fifth century of our era. If, then, the modern student reads the correspondence of Sidonius—and he will do that far more easily in O. M. Dalton's delightful translation than in the tortured Latin of the original—he will find there a society of very wealthy landed proprietors, living in ease on their great estates, devoting their days to hunting, to games of ball and chance, to reading of the classics and to the enjoyments of the table. They keep open house, they delight in paying visits, they spend ungrudging pains on letters where art makes no effort at all to conceal artistry.

We can outline the course of his life. As a youth he goes to one of the famous schools of Gaul to study grammar and rhetoric: in after days he will be bound by close ties of friendship to those who were once his fellow-students. He marries young, and his bride will bring with her an estate to swell the family wealth; he becomes a father of four or five children, for these Gallic nobles are a vigorous stock, and here there is no fear of race suicide. He will interest himself in his boy's education and will read with him the Latin classics—Terence, Sallust and, above all, Virgil; he will even rub up his Greek to help his son. While still a young man he will obtain a provincial governorship in the imperial civil service; he may even rise to the proud position of prefect of the city in Rome, as did Sidonius, or he may become praetorian prefect, governing many provinces. At forty he will return to his home estates in Gaul and spend the rest of his days in luxurious leisure amongst his friends.

Sidonius does not disguise his dislike and scorn of the Germans. In fifth century Gaul the towns were shrinking within their newly-raised fortifications; trade and manufacture, which had flourished under the early Empire, were stagnant; brigandage made communications insecure for one who was not protected by a bodyguard of attendants. The aristocrat only went to the city for Eastertide or some other great Christian festival, yet it was in the towns of Gaul that a new power was arising—the Church; and there was one claim which might recall even the noble to the town—the claim that he should assume the burden of a bishopric. For while some bishops came from the monastery and carried into the town the life of the ascetic, there was always room for the aristocrat who would place his wealth and dignity at the service of the Church. It was thus that Sidonius became a bishop.

From the correspondence of Sidonius we should not judge that this Gallo-Roman aristocracy was a vicious or immoral class. They are lovers of sport and of the open air; their chief pride, however, if the evidence of these letters may be trusted, is in the maintenance of a literary tradition, in the study and, as they fondly thought, in the imitation of the Latin classics. What strikes the modern reader of this correspondence is the curious remoteness of these men from the political and economic life of their day—and already that remoteness is beginning to tell: even the guardianship of a literary tradition is failing.

When Augustus, the founder of the Roman Empire, put an end to the era of civil war in which the old Republican constitution perished, men everywhere were sighing for an age of peace and security. Augustus satisfied their desire: he not only restored domestic peace, but, when he had rounded off the frontiers of the Roman world, he determined that the policy of expansion should be abandoned once and for all. It is part of the tribute which his successors paid to the statesmanship of Augustus that they remained loyal to this determination. Augustus, disbanding the swollen armaments of the period of the civil wars, created the modest defensive force of the early Empire. Behind the shield of these frontier armies the civil life of the

provinces was free to develop in its urban centers, which were themselves knit together and kept in touch with the heart of the Empire through the great highways that Rome had built. The defence of the provincials was assumed by the central government.

But this was not all. In the first century of our era an imperial religion—the worship of Rome and of the Emperor—gave to the provincials an expression for their conviction that Rome was the one efficient stay of law and order, as well as the source of that civilization which, though it was not forced upon them by the conqueror, they were perhaps for that very reason the more anxious to acquire. The republican policy of *laissez-faire* was abandoned, and the agents of the central government were only too ready to direct, control or overrule local initiative. The intentions of the emperors were excellent, but the benefits of paternal government were bought at a price: self-help was at a discount, and a citizen's generosity might well be checked by imperial interference. The danger lay in the development of a psychology of dependence. What indeed if the imperial ravens failed in their task?

That failure of the central power came in the second half of the third century. Under Marcus Aurelius the Empire had successfully repulsed its foes, since the attacks upon the Danube and the Euphrates frontiers were not contemporaneous: troops from the north could be moved to the east and subsequently again transferred to Europe. But under Gallienus the simultaneous attack upon all frontiers broke down the barriers, and chaos ensued. The restoration, when it came, was the work of the central government, and to meet the crisis a complete administrative and military reorganization was carried through by Diocletian and Constantine. Everything was at stake, and the demands made upon the Roman world were heavy.

A new spirit pervades this fourth-century reorganization. The early Empire had proved itself adaptable in its methods and tolerant of local diversity: now, under the constraint of iron necessity, uniformity is everywhere enforced, and alike in the military and administrative sphere a single system is rigorously imposed. It is true that this system sustained during the fourth century the defence of the frontiers, that it succeeded in holding the Roman world together; but after the crisis of the third century it is easy to understand that in the view of the central government the state and its interests were of paramount importance.

As we study the poor fragments of evidence which we possess for the history of the Roman defence of Gaul we are struck by the fact, not only that the Roman armies were captured by barbarians, but that those captains were constantly straining every nerve to enlist barbarians in the Roman service. There is hardly a trace of the employment of provincials in the defence of the western provinces. Now, it is true that here our sources may produce a false impression, but it is far more probable that they really mirror one of the essential features of that desperate struggle. It is astonishing how little effective resistance would seem to have been offered to the barbarian advance by any force other than that of the imperial army.

The great need of Aetius is obviously man-power; to make good this need he employs any barbarian force within his reach—Hun or Goth, it matters not. The provincial levies are too unimportant to be mentioned; we are not told that it even occurred to the Roman general to rely upon their help. Gaul in the fourth century had furnished the Empire with its most trusted and valued soldiers. When a serious war with Persia was threatening, it was to Julian's Gallic troops that Constantius looked for support. In the fifth century it is in Auvergne alone that we find any resolute resistance of the provincial to the Gothic invader, and even here counsels were divided, and it needed all the efforts of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy to maintain that resistance. When Lyons initiates a revolt, it relies upon the help of Burgundian troops. It certainly looks as though Roman rule had broken the military spirit of Gaul. Gaul had sheltered itself under the protection of the Empire; as a result of this it had now lost the power to organize itself for its own defence.

Now, the fact that the Roman state had assumed these vast responsibilities was the justification for its claims upon the life and property of the subject. The largely increased military forces of the Empire, the vast hierarchy of the reconstituted civil administration, the studied magnificence of the imperial court were each and all excessively costly. Outside the favored classes of the imperial senators or of those enrolled in the state service, the subject comes to be regarded primarily as a taxpayer; his every effort to escape from his burdensome obligations must be forestalled. He must be shackled to his task, while his children must be held to the same duty by the fetters of hereditary compulsion; they are doomed from birth to bear their father's burden.

The Empire must feed its administrators, must clothe its soldiers; but the Roman state is unwilling to pay in hard cash for supplies or for services rendered; it seeks to satisfy its needs without payment. It, therefore, commandeers the services of the trade guilds; it subjects the lives of sailor, trader, merchant or shipowner to its own imperious will. Here, too, it resorts to its favorite expedient of hereditary obligation, and by way of what is really a tax in kind it procures goods or supplies without in any way sacrificing its coined bullion. These two features everywhere characterize the action of this fourth-century state: its search for security, pledges, guarantees, and its determination to satisfy its needs without payment, by exacting from its subjects a payment in kind for which it is not compelled to make monetary return.

The application of the principle of a hereditary burden which the subject by the mere fact of birth is forced to assume is perhaps the most striking instance of this search for a guarantee, for a pledge that the claims of the state will be duly met. Under the early Empire municipal office had been regarded as an honorable distinction, but now, when the state rendered municipal councillors individually liable for the taxes which it was their duty to collect, the office of councillor became a ruinous obligation from which men sought by any and every means to escape. If farms were not tilled, there would be no revenues from which the land tax could be paid; therefore, farms must be tilled, and thus laborers (*coloni*) must be bound to the estate which they cultivated, for, in a world where the supply of labor was inadequate, to carry off a workman was to carry off the crops which his toil could have produced, and thus to carry off the taxes upon those crops which the state could have exacted. Thus the Roman state of the fourth century issued its successive statutes of laborers and its brutal edicts against the members of the municipal senates.

At the same time the burden of the regular taxation was indefinitely increased by the imposition of enforced labor on the state's behalf. Thus in Constantinople bread was publicly distributed to the holders of breadtickets; the corn from which that bread was made was grown in Egypt—it was compulsorily acquired by the government as part of the taxes paid by the Egyptians; it was carried to Constantinople under compulsion by the shippers of Alexandria; it was compulsorily baked by the guild of bakers in the capital, while shipper and baker with their children were bound to membership of their corporation. Pledges, security, guarantees: safety first—the government would take no risks.

Yet, though the government asked so much of its subjects, it must not infrequently have seemed to men to give but a poor return for all their sacrifices. For, if the subject had lost all power of controlling the state, the state itself was often unable to control its agents.

The citizen of the middle classes whose possession of twenty-five acres of farmland dooms him to membership of the municipal senate, terrified by the arrears to the treasury for which he is personally liable, seeks the protection of some large landed proprietor, whose influence may shield him from the state's agents. The peasants will make friends with the soldiers garrisoned in the neighborhood, so that they may be supported by military force in defying the demands of their landlord. The small proprietor will surrender his estate to a wealthy landowner and become his servant, that he may enjoy the "patronage" of the

powerful, and gain security at the price of his personal freedom. That surrender of property may not even be a voluntary act, for everywhere the large landholder is seeking to "round off" his estate by the absorption of the property of smaller men.

Both the municipal councillor—the "curial"—and the peasant, if no other avenue of escape be open, will seek relief in flight—the curial flying to the army or to the Church, the peasant to brigandage, each knowing that any day, if he is caught, he will be haled back to his task. Even for the wealthy curial there is no relief; the state bars his entry into the favored class of imperial senators who are free from obligations to the municipal senates. The curials are "the sinews of the commonwealth"; they are devoted to their office; they are "as it were dedicated with sacred fillets, they must guard the eternal mystery; to withdraw from it is an act of impiety." They cannot leave their town without permission; without permission they cannot alienate their property. The shades of the prison-house have closed about them.

The common folk of the Roman Empire have left behind them no picture of their sufferings drawn by one of their own class; it is to the admissions of the imperial constitutions that we must turn if we would seek to reconstruct the tragedy of their obscure misery. Those admissions are reinforced by the evidence of Salvian, a presbyter of Marseilles, who in his work, "On the Governance of God," stood forth as champion and apologist of the oppressed. Salvian states that not a few of the provincials welcomed the barbarians, expecting from them an alleviation of the ills from which they suffered.

Such is the social background of the decline of the Roman power in western Europe. For conditions in Italy itself we have but little evidence, but during the three centuries which lay between the founding of the Empire and the administrative reorganization of Diocletian it had become increasingly clear that the city of Rome was no longer the center of the Mediterranean world. The Western capital had never been a manufacturing city; it had grown rich on the tribute of the provinces and on the spoils of the Greek East. When Rome was constrained to purchase the luxuries which came from the Orient, the Greek cities of the eastern Mediterranean took their revenge upon their conqueror; since Italy's manufactures were inadequate, the West had perforce to make good in payments of specie the adverse trade balance. Even as early as the second century of our era imperial charitable foundations would suggest that already the prosperity of the Italian middle classes was on the decline. Wealth was in the hands of the merchants of Alexandria and of Antioch. The economic tide was ebbing eastwards.

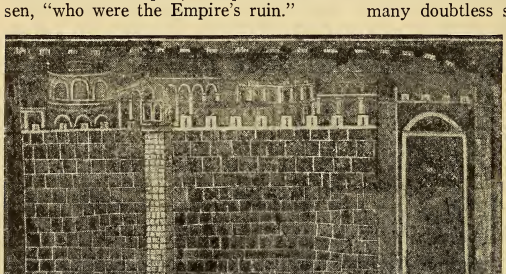
The court of the emperor followed that ebb-tide; Diocletian for a time made Nicomedia his capital. It was not merely a blow to the imperial prestige of Rome, it was also a serious economic loss, when in 330 Constantine permanently fixed both the court and the central administration of the Empire in the city which he had founded on the Bosporus. That economic loss is only illustrated by the fact that the corn of Egypt was now diverted from the Western capital, and went henceforth to feed the populace of Constantinople. Even when an emperor shared the rule of the Roman world with a Western colleague, Rome was no longer an imperial residence. Trèves, Milan and Ravenna became successively the homes of the Western sovereign. The city where the emperor resided had a prior claim upon the revenues of the Empire; Trèves and Ravenna still preserve their memorials of imperial favor.

In the early years of the fifth century the Gothic invasion spread devastation and confusion in Italy; there was widespread insecurity throughout the countryside, where broken men and deserters from the army swelled the brigand gangs. Edicts threatening capital punishment were of little avail, and in 416 the government was constrained to issue a general amnesty in favor of those whom barbarian inroad and the fear of death had driven into crime. In the south of Italy large districts were given over to shepherds and herdsmen. Here their occupation would seem to have been almost synonymous with brigandage; against the brigand the subject was even permitted the use of arms.

After the fall of Stilicho (408), when

the Catholic party was in the ascendant, all pagans were excluded from the service of the state. Those who remained loyal to their convictions were doomed to inactivity. How far that religious antithesis may have influenced the thought of those who would naturally have controlled the destinies of Italy and the western provinces we do not know, but it may well have caused many to withdraw into private life and to withhold their services from the state. The tide had set against the old tradition for which they stood, and a note of resignation can be traced in the pagan literature of the period. The Christian bishop and the barbarian soldier are the leaders of the age. Above all, power rested with the barbarian masters of the soldiers—"those saviors of the Empire," to quote Mommsen, "who were the Empire's ruin."

Some would see in racial degeneration the cause of the decline of the Roman power. In the early Empire Greek slaves had been brought to the West in great numbers; these were often highly educated, the trusted advisers, even the friends of their masters. It was these men rather than the slaves on the large estates who would be emancipated by their owners, and on emancipation would obtain the Roman citizenship. Even in the first century of our era Rome must have been to a larger extent than we commonly conceive a Greek city: St. Paul wrote his letter to the Romans in Greek, and Greek was the language of the early liturgy of the Christian Church of Rome. Eastern merchants and traders were constantly travelling from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, and many doubtless settled in the West. A mongrel race must have been the consequence of this Eastern immigration, and the Empire, therefore, declined because the Romans were no longer Roman. But it may be doubted whether the theory provides an adequate explanation for the great transition which we are considering.



RAVENNA IN THE DAYS WHEN IT HAD OUSTED ROME

We can dimly see what a blow to sentiment and tradition it must have been when Rome, the Sacred City worshipped as a goddess in rites that unified the Empire, had yielded its capital status to Constantinople in the East, to Treves, Milan, Ravenna in the West. Theodoric the Ostrogoth fixed his residence at Ravenna, long the capital of Honorius and Galla Placidia; these mosaics in St. Apollinare Nuovo show the walls and gate of Classis, seaport of Ravenna (top), and the palace of Theodoric.

Photos, Alinari

The Western aristocracy of the fourth and fifth centuries is surely not as a class an aristocracy of Greek parvenus: the great senatorial houses of Rome have a long and a Roman past. Especially in the fourth century it is difficult to believe that Greek influence was strong in the West, for it is precisely in this century that Italy is ceasing to be bilingual and that Latin is becoming the sole language of the Western world. The cultivation of distinctly Roman traditions by the leaders of Western culture is, as we have seen, an outstanding feature of the period.

But it is another consideration which increases the difficulty of attributing to Greek influence the decline of the Western power: it was precisely where Greek influence was strongest—in the eastern provinces of the Empire—that the continuity with the past was maintained, that the menace of barbarian supremacy was averted, that the Graeco-Roman tradition was preserved for another millennium.

In the last century there were some scholars who regarded the triumph of Christianity as one of the principal causes of the decline of the Roman power. This charge against Christianity is as old as Augustine, but its falsity is now generally recognized. Not only had the Christian Church given a new and religious sanction to the authority of the Caesars, not only did it support by its influence every effort of the emperors to reform administrative abuses so that the bishops were granted large powers of civil jurisdiction, but the Church, on the impoverishment of the Roman state, was the one organization which possessed alike the desire and the resources to aid the destitute and to support those who through famine or barbarian invasion were threatened with death.

In a world where the old literary tradition of classic paganism was ever growing more artificial and further removed from spontaneous vigor, it was the Church that turned the rhetoric of the schools into a vehicle for a living message of comfort and hope. While the Roman power was declining in western Europe the Church was building up an organization which should outlive the Empire. It was preparing itself for the day when on the triumph of the barbarous Frank it would stand as the heir of Roman tradition, as the one force which would in some measure control the tyranny of military dominance.

It is true that the ascetic enthusiasm which had been kindled by the stories of Egyptian solitaries was withdrawing men from the world to the seclusion of the monasteries, but it may well be doubted whether the withdrawal of the religious enthusiasts from political life did any greater injury to the Empire than the withdrawal of the noble to the cultured ease of his country villa. At least it was rather with the monasteries than with the villas of Gaul that the future lay. For in the possession of the Church was the hope of a City of God which would remain when the City of Rome had dropped the reins of government.

Rather it is in the Empire's dependence on the barbarian soldier that we should trace the deepest reason for the failure of the imperial defence. To retain the services of barbarian allies it was essential to pay them generously, and the Western Empire was poor: it could not raise the funds necessary for the maintenance of its fleet and its army. It was only able to do this when it received financial help from Constantinople. This is the fundamental fact: the Roman state in the West could not do more because it could not meet the bill. This explanation is brutally simple, but often the simplest explanations are nearest the truth.

Recall to yourselves again the plight of the Roman Empire in the West: Britain evacuated, Spain laid waste, Africa fallen to the Vandal, the mastery of the sea lost, the richest part of France in the possession of the Goth, Gaul beyond the boundaries of the Gothic kingdom now disputed territory, where Aetius was fighting the Hun—whence should the Roman state acquire the means wherewith to repel her foes? Rome in the West possessed no reserves upon which she could draw to make good the constant drain upon her resources. Individuals of the Roman aristocracy were rich, but the Roman state was on the verge of bankruptcy: it could not pay the price of empire.

The year 476, when the last Roman emperor of the West was dethroned, has sometimes been spoken of as the fall of the Roman Empire. That is, of course, an abuse of language; all that happened was that the emperor ruling in Constantinople was now sole sovereign; the imperial authority previously exercised by Romulus Augustulus reverted to his colleague, who thus became the ruler alike of the Roman West and of the Roman East; there was in theory of state no constitutional change. The emperor might entrust the government of Italy to a barbarian lieutenant as his representative, but this was not to surrender the imperial title to the governance of the west of Europe.

But it is still true that though the year 476 was marked by the fall of no empire, it did yet inaugurate an important change in the history of the Roman lands in the West. The government of Theodoric the Goth in its civil administration maintained the Roman tradition; but that tradition, even in the civil sphere, was not maintained without difficulty, while the foreign policy of Theodoric was a Gothic policy, and was not dictated by Rome. The reorganization of Italy by Justinian had no permanence, for the Lombard was heir to the Goth on Italian soil. With the year 476 there does, therefore, take place a real transition in Italian history, for in that year the passing of Romulus Augustulus declared to the world that the attempt of the Empire directly to guide the destinies of the West had failed. The semblance of control which a Western emperor had previously maintained over the actions of the master of the soldiery was allowed to drop, and the fact stood naked and acknowledged that the commander of the Roman army held in his own hand the reins of government. He need no longer be at pains to secure a pliant puppet upon the throne.

The issue of the struggle is seen in the great contrast which characterizes the history of the early Middle Ages in the West and in Eastern Europe. In the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire the threat of barbarian supremacy is averted, the Roman state emerges triumphant, and that state continues to support, alike in government and in army, in literature, art and religion, the traditions which it had inherited from the past. In the West the Empire is succeeded by barbarian kingdoms formed on Roman soil; there is a break with the culture of the ancient world, and man begins to form a new society.

WHAT THE MODERN WORLD OWES TO ROME

AN ASSESSMENT OF OUR SPLENDID INHERITANCE FROM THE ROMAN GENIUS IN MANY DEPARTMENTS OF LIFE

By CYRIL BAILEY

Classical Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford; Author of Religion of Ancient Rome, etc.; Editor of The Legacy of Rome

To the average man to-day ancient Rome seems misty and far off. He has heard of the greatness of the Roman Empire, he knows that her literature is still the object of the study of scholars and a delight to those who understand it, and that excavation has revealed something of her architectural and constructional power not only in Italy but in other European countries. But it does not occur to him to connect Rome with his own life, nor with the civilization of the modern world around him. Yet in fact the influence of Rome is still felt in almost every department of modern life.

In most countries of Europe there are to be found great roads, such as Watling Street in England, passing for the most part from south to north and throwing out branches east and west, aiming with a wonderful tenacity of direction at their remotest objective, making light of natural obstacles and refusing to swerve for hill or valley, mountain or marsh. These roads are an allegory; for underneath our modern civilization, penetrating and sustaining it in every direction, lie the foundations laid by Rome in the four centuries of her greatness from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200: on these foundations have been built the kingdoms and republics, the manners and the customs of modern Europe, though to the modern world the foundations themselves are little known and their presence hardly recognized. This is our first debt to Rome, an unconscious influence, not always easy to trace, but pervading all our civilization and persisting in it through all changes.

Then there is a second heritage, more conscious and therefore more easy to determine, the heritage which has come to us through learning, especially that of the Renaissance. Philologists distinguish in the English language three strata of Latin words. There are some, such as 'butter' and 'cheese,' which were brought over by the early envoys of Christianity in the days when Rome still lived, and are as deeply laid in the soil of English as are the great Roman roads in the countryside. A second stratum came through the medium of Norman French, and these words, too, mingling with the native Anglo-Saxon, have become welded in the common language of the people. But the third stratum, which philologists call words of learned formation, were a deliberate introduction into the language made at various times, but particularly since the great wealth of Roman literature was 'reborn' to the modern world at the Renaissance. These words are not merely a symbol but an actual part of a great gift from Rome, which was deliberately sought and taken by Italy and through her by the other European nations—a gift not so much of practical modes of living and administration as of literature and science and art.

There is yet a third debt. The great Roman roads were carriers, spreading the knowledge and the ways of Rome over the vast tracts which her arms had subdued. And Rome herself was a carrier: what she learnt from other peoples, from the East, from Egypt and above all from Greece, she has transmitted to us. Her own literature was modelled on that of Greece and even if all direct knowledge of Greek had perished, we should yet know through Rome much of what it was. Again, it was along the high roads of Rome that the knowledge of Christianity itself spread through Europe. Rome the persecutor became also the messenger.

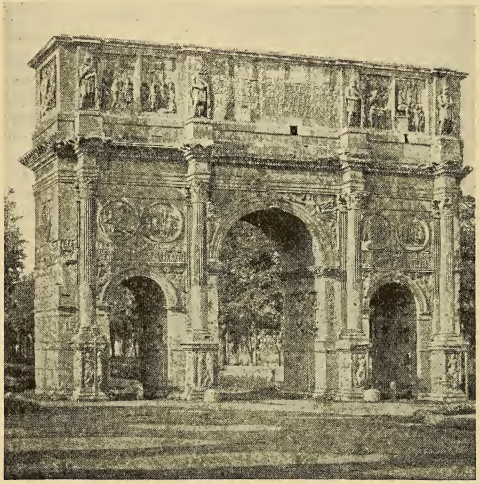
The indirect debt to Rome is perhaps as great as the direct.

The safest start may perhaps be made with concrete things, and it may be asserted with confidence that the only actual objects made by the Romans and still in use to-day are in fact the roads.

Closely connected with the roads and hardly less valuable as a contribution to the art of construction is the arched bridge, by means of which Rome learnt to span the great rivers as they came in the path of the roads and so to avoid the necessity either of traffic by boat or of deviation to a fordable spot.

The same principles of construction were used by the Romans in the making of the gigantic aqueducts by which they brought water, often from immense distances, to their cities. Remains of some of these are still with us to testify to the constructive powers of their makers, but the pipe-line has long superseded the aqueduct as a method of water supply.

The construction of these bridges and aqueducts was made possible by the use of the arch, and though it cannot be said that Rome invented the arch its use was very greatly developed by them and passed from them to the modern world. The development of the arch led to the still more characteristically Roman invention of the vault, and here again, since Roman architects used alike the simple barrel vault, the cross vault made by the intersecting of barrel vaults, and the dome built over a circular space, it is clear that they discovered the prototypes of most subsequent methods of vaulting. It was the arch and the vault too that made possible the type of building which is most essentially Roman, the great public structures, palaces, baths, amphitheaters, triumphal arches, many of which still stand in Italy and elsewhere. These were the models on which the great architects of the Renaissance worked, and their influence is still vital. It was undoubtedly Roman architects who solved the problem of covering great spaces, and so raising structures of vast and magnificent proportions.



A FRUITFUL SOURCE OF IMITATION

Some of our heritage from Rome is by way of direct and unconscious transmission, some is deliberate copying started by artists and scholars of the Renaissance. Of the latter are the triumphal arches to be seen in every modern capital, inspired by such structures as the Arch of Constantine above.

Passing from architecture to sculpture, two great Roman traditions, rediscovered at the Renaissance, have undoubtedly influenced subsequent art very largely. The first is the use of relief, especially for the purpose of narrative, much employed by the Romans, particularly on public monuments, like the column of Trajan, on triumphal arches and on sarcophagi. The Romans did not invent relief sculpture, but with their usual practical bent they turned it from its Greek mythological subjects to contemporary events. The sculptors of the Renaissance diverted it again to the service of the Church. In the Baptistery at Pisa stands the famous

pulpit of Niccola Pisano, and hard by it may still be seen some of the ancient monuments which gave him his ideas.

Nor did these reliefs influence only modern sculpture, but painting too, more strongly in work like that of Mantegna, but generally in grouping and pose and in a sense of solid dignity.

The second characteristic development of Roman sculpture was the portrait statue or bust; here again the origin was Greek, but the rare and idealized portrait of Greek art becomes the frequent and realistic portrait of Roman imperial times: the 'shoulder bust,' so often since employed, was indeed an invention of Rome. How strong was the Roman tradition in portrait sculpture may be seen by anyone who enters Westminster Abbey, and notes that until very recent times it was considered right that the statues of statesmen and other worthies should be done 'in the toga.'

Not less typically Roman is the equestrian statue; the Garibaldis and Emmanuels which are to be seen in every Italian town of respectable size to-day are the direct successors of the Colleoni and Gattemalata statues at Venice and Padua, as these are in their turn of the Marcus Aurelius of the Capitol, the only ancient equestrian statue which has survived intact. Rome has undoubtedly left her mark on the art and architecture of modern Europe, but the legacy is for the most part, except for structural principles, not that of unconscious tradition, but the deliberate rediscovery of the Renaissance.

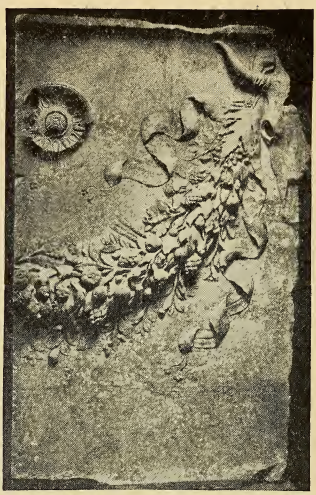
Before leaving the more concrete side of our inheritance from Rome, something must be said of her achievements in applied science. Rome had indeed a genius for turning the theoretic knowledge of Greece to the practical service of humanity, and much that she devised has been of lasting benefit. Her most notable successes lay in the sphere of medicine and hygiene. The doctor, too, usually a Greek, came to have a recognized position in the city, and in the army a physician was attached to each legion and certain of the more important cohorts, and to every ship in the imperial navy. A relief on Trajan's column gives us a picture of a field dressing-station in which the legionary physician is seen at work.

ORIGIN OF ITALIAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

A glance at the photograph above, of the Street of the 'Casa di Diana' at Ostia, will show what an obvious and direct debt modern domestic architecture owes to Rome, more especially in Italy itself. It might be a Naples street in ruins.

Photo, Anderson

But the most valuable item of Rome's work of medical organization was undoubtedly the invention of the hospital. It appears first in the temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island a natural reproduction of Greek practice. But later it is developed and organized in connection with the army, and more than one hospital site has been excavated and its wards and



ROMAN MODELS FOR DECORATIVE RELIEF

The delightfully naturalistic rendering of wreaths and floral ornament imitated in so many modern buildings was developed in the Augustan Age, to which belongs the fragment of the Ara Pacis (right). The rose pillar (left) with its bees and birds is from the tomb of the Haterii (end of last century B.C.).

Museo delle Terme, photo, Anderson; and Lateran Museum, photo, Moscioni

If we turn now to the less tangible forms of inheritance, undoubtedly the most striking is that of language. All the great Romance languages of Europe, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French, have grown directly out of the Latin which was learnt by the inhabitants of those countries from the invading armies of Rome and from the settlers and merchants who followed in their train.

If we remember too that these Romance languages have been carried into the South American states and other parts of the world by colonization, it is not too much to say, as a recent authority has put it, that at the present day what was once the local dialect of the petty district of Latium is spoken as their mother tongue by half the nations of the civilized world.

corridors and refectory recognized. In civil life we hear as early as the first century A.D. of 'valetudinaria,' often apparently 'nursing-homes,' in connection with the doctor's residence. Private benevolence and municipal enterprise seem to have provided similar institutes in provincial towns, and as Christianity naturally took over the idea of the hospital, its history can be traced continuously down to modern times.

Another important department of practical scientific work developed by the Romans was that of surveying and mensuration. The system of Roman milestones is familiar to everyone, and they led to the preparation of 'itineraria' for military purposes, which are our earliest surviving maps. Among other scientific inventions of which we have remains or descriptions may be mentioned the sundial and an elaborate form of water-clock. In all these ways Rome left a legacy which later ages have gradually developed.

But the Romance languages are not the only gift of Latin to the speech of modern Europe, and it is possible to trace two later stages of communication which affected not only them but other European tongues as well. In the first place Christianity developed a Latin of its own, distinct on the one hand from 'vulgar Latin,' yet on the other showing a greater elasticity than the classical Latin and using largely its own vocabulary. Not only were books written in it, but it was a living language spoken alike in the monasteries and by the clergy. The missionaries who went out from Rome carried it with them and not merely enriched the Romance languages with a new fount of Roman inspiration, but introduced a Latin element into English, German and Dutch.

To this vein of Latin influence are due, for instance, the use of 'pensare,' 'to weigh,' as the normal word for 'to think' in French, Spanish and Italian, and, the common words in English and German for

such articles as 'butter' and 'cheese,' which the Roman emissaries introduced with them. Here we have a stratum that lies midway between the continuous growth and the introductions due to learning, though it is on the whole more akin to the latter.

Lastly there are the deliberate adoptions of words from literary Latin. In the Romance countries such introductions were made early, but in England, which already in Saxon times had its vernacular literature, they did not begin till later, and then at first through the medium of learned adoptions in French. The great revival of classical learning at the Renaissance opened the way to a whole host of learned formations, some of them absurd conceits and 'euphuisms,' such as Shakespeare ridicules in Love's Labour's Lost; others valuable words expressing new ideas or putting succinctly what the vernacular required a periphrasis to say; these have become part of the normal speech, though most of them still have something of a literary flavor.

Language leads naturally to literature, and here the debt of the modern world to Rome is hardly more easy to define or specify. On the one hand, the modern nations owe to Rome the forms of poetry and prose in their many departments, and much of modern literature is very definitely based on Roman models; on the other, in a wider sense the whole structure of modern speech on its more formal side, written and spoken alike, is in its essence Latin. Here no more can be attempted than to illustrate these claims in certain spheres, and if illustrations are taken chiefly from English literature, this is to a great extent because English literature, for all its independence in language, stands in an almost closer relation to the spirit and form of the literature of Rome even than that of the Romance languages.

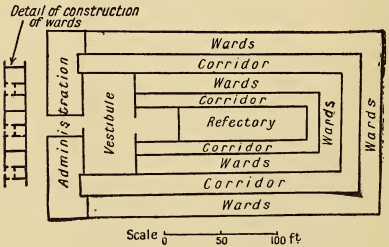
The main forms of poetry, epic, didactic, lyric, elegiac, dramatic, were handed on to Rome by Greece, their inventor, and with them came the forms of verse which Greece had found appropriate to

A SPLENDID EQUESTRIAN STATUE THAT OWES ITS INSPIRATION TO ROME

The only Roman equestrian statue that survives to us is that of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. It undoubtedly inspired such Renaissance works as the Bartolomeo Colleoni by Verrocchio (1435-88) in Venice, said to be the finest equestrian statue in the world.

each. Roman poets, desirous in all things to rival their models, forced a language which had a stress accent into scansion by quantity, and so preserved the Greek meters, giving them at the same time a strength and dignity which were characteristically Roman. These forms of poetry have passed unchanged and unchallenged into the literature of modern Europe, and even the meters have been largely followed, though with such necessary alterations as were required by the genius of the language.

The great change in modern poetry is undoubtedly the introduction of the element of rhyme, which was already showing itself slyly in the 'leonine' pentameters and became explicit in the accentual hymns of the Christian church. Yet even this totally new element has tended to perpetuate the spirit of Latin poetry, in that it has added the touch of formalism to verse which might otherwise have become excessively free.



PLAN OF A MILITARY HOSPITAL

Great attention was paid by the Romans to public and military hospitals. This is the ground plan of a military institution traced at Novaesium near Düsseldorf (c. A.D. 100), with the probable uses of its various parts indicated.

From 'The Legacy of Rome,' Clarendon Press

If one were asked to name the Latin poets who have had the most influence on European poetry, there could be little doubt that the answer would be Vergil, Horace and Ovid. They are the 'Roman roads' of Latin literature, for they were known and studied continuously throughout the Middle Ages. The Greek poets had to be rediscovered at the Renaissance, but the great poets of Rome never fell into oblivion. Vergil had a unique position; from his constant use as a schoolbook he came to be regarded, oddly enough, as the prime exemplar of good grammar and so had an influence not only on the structure of medieval Latin, but probably also on that of the Romance languages themselves; what was more important, from his own deep religious feeling and in particular from the universal recognition of the Fourth Eclogue as a Messianic prophecy, he came to be looked on as the forerunner of Christianity in the ancient world.

So when classical poetry woke again and the first great Christian epic of the modern world was written, Dante turned naturally to Vergil not merely as his model, but as the companion who should unlock for him the secrets of the other world. And in English poetry Milton, steeped in the classical poets, Greek and Latin alike, yet has Vergil more than any other before his eyes all through Paradise Lost; and, nearer to our own day, The Idylls of the King, to take but one instance, treating of a theme remote from all classical associations, still bears manifest testimony to its author's profound devotion to the 'wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of men.'

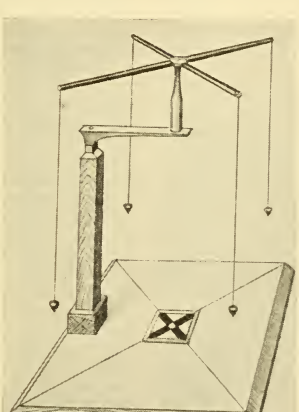
The influence of Horace has been less definite but possibly more pervading. His Odes few have dared to imitate—for they are inimitable—but it is impossible to read English love lyrics, from the Elizabethans and Herrick down to Robert Bridges, without being conscious that Horace has moulded their shape, while his Satires and Epistles contributed almost as much as Juvenal to form the style of the satirists of the age of Anne. More than this, Horace has had a deep influence on modern life. Learnt at school by every educated man, cherished and quoted in later life, he was a large element, with his shrewd common sense and his often delicate feeling, in shaping the characters and outlook of the gentleman of to-day. This intimacy is now passing away, but one cannot think of Pitt and Fox and Burke and Gladstone without tasting their Horatian flavor, and realizing how deeply it penetrated the society of their times.

Ovid was the great story-teller of

Rome, and it was through him that the legends of classical mythology came down to the modern world to be told and retold in our literature from Chaucer to William Morris. He, too, is the prototype of the writer of 'occasional verse' and, as he demonstrated to his contemporaries the extraordinary flexibility of the Latin elegiac, so he laid the lines for a whole variety of poetic essays from the antiquarianism of the Fasti, through the psychological narrative of the Heroides to the personal outbursts of the Tristia and the Letters from Pontus. He suggested to the modern world new themes for verse and the manner in which they might be treated.

Besides these three great names there were others who set the model for much modern work, not so much as permanent influences through the ages, but through a revival of interest at the Renaissance. The tragedies of Seneca are not among the best works of Latin poetry: they are rhetorical exercises mainly on Greek themes. But they suited the genius of the Renaissance, and have greatly affected the development of tragedy in Italy and France. In England they were welcomed as models by the Elizabethans; Ben Jonson was soaked in them, Marlowe shows their influence, and even Shakespeare was not untouched by them; Titus Andronicus is 'pure Seneca from beginning to end.' And through these Elizabethans Seneca affected the whole course of tragedy.

Not less remarkable was the lead given to comedy by Plautus and Terence, more perhaps in France—Molière will occur to everyone—than in England; though the Restoration drama, and especially Congreve, owes much to them. Here Terence was in the main the model for style, while Plautus suggested the many types which comedy has assumed, the burlesque, the farce, the comedies of plot and manners. We have here an interesting instance of Rome as the carrier: we know that Plautus and Terence modelled themselves on the Greek poets of the New Comedy, very little of whose work has survived, and if it had not been for the Roman comedians we should have known almost nothing of their aims and manner. Nor must the one branch of literature which Rome invented for herself be omitted. The satire of Rome, Juvenal perhaps more than his predecessors Lucilius and Horace, gave us Pope and Dryden and Swift, and started in England a form of literature which she has made peculiarly her own.



USED BY THE ROMAN SURVEYOR

Surveying and mensuration were Roman arts. A specimen of the 'groma,' or surveying instrument, was found at Pompeii—four arms at right angles, bearing plummets. The plummets gave the horizontal and the arms were for laying out rectangular sites.

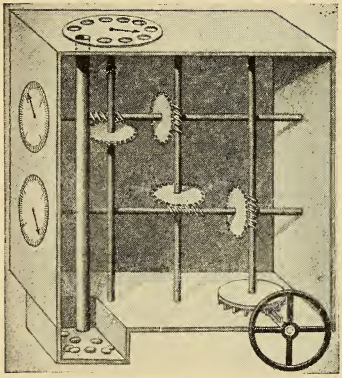
Courtesy of Dr. Chas. Singer

Among Latin prose writers there is one figure who stands out above all others, as Vergil does among the poets, and his influence has been even wider. Cicero not merely fixed the form for Latin prose, but for the prose of the civilized world: 'European prose,' says Dr. Mackail, 'as an instrument of thought is Cicero's creation.'

It may fairly be claimed that Cicero's oratory has had a more lasting and more far-reaching influence in the formation of style than the writing of any other man who has ever lived. He is hardly less important as an essayist on ethical and political themes and as a letter writer. In both these provinces he has been a model to many generations writing in many different tongues.

In other departments of prose, Latin influence is not so constant or so obvious.

But in the writing of history it would be true to say that modern historians have gone to Latin models rather than Greek: the garrulous flow of Herodotus and the crabbed brevity of Thucydides were ill-suited for an art which the modern world requires to be at once concentrated and straightforward. Of the Latin writers the terse epigrams of Tacitus have found an occasional follower like Gibbon, but it is Livy, with his vigorous and effective narrative and his continuous sense of the dignity of his theme, who has most often



ANTICIPATION OF THE 'TAXIMETER'

To measure distances, such as the base-line for calculating the width of rivers, there was the instrument here drawn from the description of Vitruvius. A wheel of known diameter drove worm-gears operating a perforated disk that dropped a pebble into a box at stated intervals.

Courtesy of Dr. Chas. Singer

been the model—yet even here the form of expression in the modern writing of history is really Ciceronian.

Roman philosophy was but a pale replica of the thought of Greece, yet it too has left its stamp. The practical mind of Rome turned away from the abstract metaphysical speculation, which was the foundation of Greek philosophy and gives it its unique value for the modern world, and concentrated rather on the problem of the conduct of man as an individual and a citizen, in other words on ethics and politics. For this reason it was the creeds of the Epicurean and Stoic which found more followers at Rome than the speculations of Plato and Aristotle.

Rome in consequence evolved and bequeathed to the modern world a practical theory of life and a type of character, combining the natural gravity and sobriety of the Roman with the restraint and resignation of the Stoic, which has gone far to shape modern ideals. The expression of this attitude is to be found in the moral discussions of Cicero, but a deeper influence on modern thinkers and writers has probably been exercised by the eclectic and discursive disquisitions of Seneca, which, like his tragedies, caught the sympathy of the Renaissance and have only lately fallen into neglect.

In Rome, too, philosophy became closely allied to theology, and their joint working towards a monotheism, which regarded all the gods of polytheism as different manifestations of one divine power, undoubtedly aided the reception of Christianity and supplied it with some of its most characteristic and lasting words and conceptions, such as 'religion,' 'piety,' 'sacrament,' 'saint.'

In the sphere of social life there can be no doubt that Rome's greatest gift to the world is the Roman conception of the family. The idea of the 'familia,' the descendants of the oldest living ancestor, with their wives and children and their slaves and retainers, living together under the rule of the 'paterfamilias,' was the very root at Rome of social life and of law. It was an idea unknown in Greece, and it has been handed on to modern nations as one of their most valuable possessions: in modern Italy and France it is perhaps more developed on its legal side, in England it is seen in the conception of 'home,' an idea which the Roman, who included his household gods in the familia, expressed in the famous phrase, Lares et Penates.

One of the principal foundations on which this conception of the family rested was the position of women at Rome. Though in theory the wife and the unmarried daughters were always in the legal power of the paterfamilias—in his 'hand' as the Roman said—yet in practice the matron of the household, never secluded and suppressed as among the Greeks, had a wide authority in domestic affairs and a profound influence on the

early upbringing of her children; the 'mother of the Gracchi' was not an exception but a type. From her at first, and later from the father, the Roman boy of the Republic had his education, a training not in what we should call 'knowledge' but in the way to live. Manliness ('virtus') he learnt in his sports and games, domestic affection ('pietas') from the love of his parents and the obedience which they demanded, and seriousness ('gravitas') from their behavior and from the discussions of his father's friends and guests, at which he was privileged, as he grew older, to be present.

No doubt this is a picture of the Roman home under the Republic—and not even in the late Republic—and, later, things changed. For instance, under Greek influence the system of education was largely modified: the Roman boy, either under a Greek teacher at home or at a school with others, was given an education in reading and writing which led to the study of literature, Greek and Latin. And later still there grew up the schools of rhetoric, which had on the whole a deteriorating effect. But this Graeco-Roman education gave rise to the courses known as the 'trivium' and 'quadrivium' which dominated the Middle Ages, and was the origin of a system, based on the Classics, both in the schools and in the universities, which the modern world—for better or worse—has only recently abandoned.

It will be noticed that nothing has as yet been said of that which the mere name of Rome brings first before the mind, the great system of administration and organization which first made her a self-contained state and then gave her dominion over an immense empire. It is this conception of Rome which has fired the modern mind more than all others, and is naturally considered as her main legacy. It is not, therefore, unreasonable that it should be treated as the culmination of an attempt to estimate our debt to Rome. But it must be discussed with caution; for in many respects it is not possible to trace direct inheritance, and the influence of an idea is never easy to determine.

Rome is first, both historically and logically, a singularly efficient and complex city state. The city states of Greece were smaller and simpler in their conception, and, except for the one brief period of Athenian supremacy, no one of them approached the position held by Rome in Italy. The internal efficiency of Rome as a city state depended primarily on the sanity and effectiveness of her law and her legal administration, based on the will of the citizens, and developed and codified through the centuries as new needs arose.

For the administration of this city state Rome developed her own peculiar constitution. In his political dialogue De Republica (On The Commonwealth) Cicero pointed out that this constitution combined the advantages of the three traditional types, the element of monarchy being represented by the annually elected magistrates, that of aristocracy by the Senate, and that of democracy by the popular assemblies, and he finds its perfect working in the second century B.C., when the three elements were best balanced and harmonized: later in the Republic either the Senate or individuals who had obtained a position approximating to tyranny tended to predominate, and the Empire was, of course, the acknowledgement of a military monarchy.

This city state of Rome, effective, pugnacious and ambitious, gradually came to dominate her immediate neighbors, Latin, Etruscan, Samnite, Oscan and Umbrian, then to extend her sway over the whole of Italy, and finally by a succession of wars against the powers and tribes with whom she came in contact—Carthage, Greece, Spain, Gaul, Germany, Egypt, Asia, Armenia, Bithynia, Syria—she became mistress of a vast empire which in effect comprised the whole known world. The instrument by which this tremendous development was brought about was the Roman army. At first an army of citizens, who were even for purely political purposes often assembled in the military divisions of the centuriae, it later embraced the conquered Italians, who were brought to feel Rome's interests their own by the gift of a modified franchise; reorganized and made professional about the end of the second century B.C., it contained in its ultimate constitution but a small Roman element beside the high officials, and was recruited largely from the conquered provincials, who would be moved to distant frontiers.

The system by which this great Empire

was governed had grown up, like that of some modern empires, almost at haphazard. But in the reign of Augustus changes were introduced which made, on the whole, for a juster administration. Under the new system abuses in provincial administration were diminished, and a high authority has stated that 'whatever their limitations, the men of the Empire wrought for the betterment and the happiness of the world.' The brighter side of Rome's management of her Empire lies, indeed, in her general attitude to the life of the subject peoples, or, as she always preferred to call them, the 'allies.'

Meanwhile, in a pacified province Roman merchants and other settlers would establish themselves, and appear to have succeeded in making friendly relations with the conquered peoples. By this means Roman civilization and culture were diffused, and a vigorous and well-ordered life arose in many of the municipalities of the provinces: it is noticeable that under the Empire many of Rome's most distinguished men of letters, including Seneca himself, were provincials.

As one looks back with admiration and almost with amazement on this vast achievement of conquest and organization one asks what has been its effect on the life of the modern world. The answer must be twofold. On the one hand, it has been the means of handing on to civilized Europe all those gifts of literature, language, art, science and practical construction which it has been the endeavor of this chapter to trace; without the Empire these things must have been the possession of Rome alone and would have perished with her, only to be brought to light again by the researches of scholars and archaeologists.

Rome must always be the great object lesson in empire. We can learn from her that the oppression of subject races and the assertion of possessive rights bring their own retribution; that sympathy and consideration for their traditions and customs will lead in turn to a desire to enter fully into the membership of a great empire, and that the encouragement of such desires is the true cement which welds the whole together. We may learn, too, to acknowledge the duty of service to the state. For, whatever may have been Rome's shortcomings, she did achieve the noble ideal of an empire in which people of many races and many languages lived together under one harmonious rule, and so brought about the diffusion of the culture which she herself had hardly learnt and its preservation for the nations of the modern world.